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ABSTRACT

This study was originally undertaken to describe an elementary school's bilingual education program and examine the process and effects of bilingual teacher development efforts, but it refocused on program change due to reduction in federal funding. A literature review explores materials relating to the process of change, staff development and school change, and bilingual programs. A description of the program in question, exploring key factors in program change, follows. The program is in a recently urbanized community east of Los Angeles that is almost half Mexican American. Data were collected from documents, observation, and interviews. Three approaches of organizational change, including the empirical-rational, normative-reeducative, and power-coercive approaches, were applied to the process experienced by the school when funding was removed. It is concluded that the approaches to change used by the school's administration, and particularly by the principal, included changes in attitudes, values, skills, and significant relationships as well as in knowledge and intellectual rationales. Elements of all three approaches played a part in the school's experience. Specific aspects of the staff development process and their role in the change process are examined, and the significance of the teacher-aide relationship in this situation is discussed. (MSE)

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A Bilingual Program and Its Staff Development Described: Before and After Title VII

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APPROACHING THE PROBLEM OF A BILINGUAL PROGRAM AND ITS STAFF DEVELOPMENT IN TRANSITION

Statement of the Problem

Original Focus

As originally designed, this study was to have focused on a development of hypotheses about the best way to use staff development to train teachers in the arts and skills of conducting successful bilingual programs. A particular bilingual program operating in a single elementary school was targeted to be the data source. This school had achieved some rather notable successes with its bilingual program and had acquired a certain reputation both within and without its own district. The bilingual program, originally funded under Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, continued for ten years under that source of funding. For seven of those ten years the bilingual program operated in every classroom in the school. Given the situation as described, the goals of the study were to have been: 1) to provide an in-depth description of the school's bilingual program, 2) to provide an in-depth description of the experiences to which the school's teachers attributed their growth in bilingual program teaching skills, and 3) to trace the lines of relationship between these growth experiences and what teachers actually do in the classroom.

Situation Changes and Re-focusing

These goals were reasonable ones under the assumption that the school's post-Title VII bilingual program would be the same as it was under Title VII funding. But after Federal monies ran out at the end of the 1978-79 school year, the program changed radically. Under Title VII funding the bilingual program at the target school had been grounded in the use of Spanish/English-speaking instructional aides in every classroom. After the loss of Title VII monies the program became one based on the use of credentialed bilingual teachers in classes.

What resulted was a substantial reduction in the number of bilingual classrooms. Now there was one bilingual class at each grade level from kindergarten through fourth plus a fifth/sixth grade combination. There were also very substantial changes in the faculty who were teaching in the bilingual classrooms.

Given the radical program change, it was no longer reasonable to retain the focus of the study as originally planned. Now, in consultation with the NIE Office, it was deemed wiser to focus on the school in terms of changes in the program features that occurred as a result of the cut-off of Federal funds.

Revised Focus

In view of the radical change in the bilingual program occasioned by the withdrawal of Title VII money, and in view also of the lack of any information on what happens to programs when they are defunded, it was logical to ask the question, "Can we learn anything from this school about what happens when Title VII programs are defunded?" Accordingly, it was decided to refocus this study according to the following three goals: 1) to describe what the school program was during the period of Title VII funding, 2) to describe the school bilingual program since the loss of Title VII funds, and 3) to describe the processes by which the changes transpired and the impact these changes had upon the concerned personnel. Thus, the descriptive nature of the study is maintained and even enlarged. It should be noted that in refocusing the study, any attempt to deal with the target school in terms of "school success" is specifically excluded as is the focus on the relationship between staff development and success.

Review of the Literature

The literature review which follows has three parts. The first section explores the literature on the process of change. The next section examines some related literature on staff development and school change. Finally, the last section summarizes some of the literature that characterizes bilingual programs. These reviews do not include all of the literature for any of these topics; but rather summarize significant pieces that illustrate the major ideas for each of the topics and that address the purposes of this study.

The Process of Change in Schools

The process of change in schools has undergone extensive study during the past ten years. The interest in change arose early in the history of social science research. Lester F. Ward, an early proponent of extending scientific approaches to the planning process, proclaimed that "The origination and distribution of knowledge can no longer be left to chance or to nature. They are to be systemized and erected into true arts" (Commager, p. 14).

Yet, the research in school change remained small. For even by 1971, Gross el at. proclaimed that "Our review indicated that there was a great need for in-depth studies of organizations, such as schools, trying to implement organizational innovations in order to isolate factors that inhibit and facilitate their implementation. Such studies, we contended, were also needed if heuristic models and hypotheses about the implementation of organizational innovations were to be developed" (p. 40).

Those in government and social and behavioral sciences heeded the call for more research into the implementation of innovations in schools. The studies which emerged can be grouped into types of change strategies advocated by the researcher. Chin and Benne provided the basis for this categorization scheme. They examined the assumptions of the three types of strategies. They called the first type the Empirical-Rational strategies (p. 54). Others like Goodlad (1976) and Wise (1979) have labeled it the Western rational model. This model assumes that persons will adopt changes suggested by the experts (so-called because they, the experts, know what is desirable and good) so long as the change can be justified and shown to produce gains (Chin and Benne, p. 34).

A second group of strategies Chin and Benne called Normative-Re-educative. It related to the rational type because it does not deny man's rationality. But, it does acknowledge different modifications for change than the empirical-rational ones. "Change will only occur as the persons involved are brought to change their normative orientations to old patterns and develop commitments to new ones. And changes in normative orientations involve change in attitudes, values, skills, and significant relationships, not just changes in knowledge, information, or intellectual rationales for action and practice" (p. 34).

The final group focused on the uses of power which they called Power-Coercive approaches. In effect this view acknowledges power as a part of human existence. This approach may use political and economic sanctions, moral sanctions, and the sentiments of guilt and shame (Chin and Benne, p. 52).

These three approaches can be used to group many of the change strategies used and studied throughout the seventies. But, another consideration arises. For what purpose do school people, researchers, and government officials use and study these approaches to change. Two purposes seem to loom large. The first has to do with the implementation of an idea or an innovation; while the other has to do with creating a type of institution that renews itself - deals with its problems, and solves those problems.

The first purpose is illustrated by the current research on how innovations become implemented. Those striving to understand the success or failure of implementing particular innovations explain the situation this way: "We make our way through the initiation, development, and adoption phases of curriculum change, but then we do not take steps necessary to achieve a satisfactory level of implementation. Our innovations do not enter the classroom; they do not affect day-to-day interaction between teachers and students. Three components of implementation that seem most neglected are planning for implementation, applying change strategies, and conducting staff development" (Patterson and Czajkowski, p. 204).

This implementation purpose contrasts with the second purpose set forth by the following statement: "We must not be in the business of disseminating a particularly exciting new product; we must be in the business of creating organizations with built-in capacities for assessing needs and creating viable alternatives. The adoption of any specific innovation is a sideline activity that must not consume our energies. Our continuing enterprise should be the building of flexible organizations responsive to environments, organizations with reserves of expertise and resources to sustain long-range problem solving" (Baldridge and Deal, p. 7).

A Typology. The faint outlines of a typology of change strategies and studies of school change are presented in Table 1. Each of the strategies and studies listed in the cells of the table are explained below.

The Marketing Strategy. The Marketing Strategy operates on the profit motive. Textbook educational materials companies and consultant groups work from this basis. They try to discover what the schools need and want. After this marketing survey, the companies develop a product to meet the needs of the marketplace. Then they mass produce and market the product. There are no guarantees, however, that the product will work, that it is based on research or that the school will implement it (Tye and Novotney, pp. 101-102).

The Research-Development-Diffusion Model. A related model is the Research-Development-Diffusion Model. The model moves from basic research in an area to an applied research phase. Once a technique is developed, the product, technique, or process is refined through a development phase. Once developed, this new product is disseminated (Havelock, p. 11-5; Paul, p. 24).

This model has received much criticism and discussion. The criticism and discussion usually revolve around the fact that change does not seem to go through a linear process. Schools have their own agenda and, therefore, modify or ignore many of the missiles of development shot at them.

> Complex organizations in a dynamic environment have to reflect a variety of basic issues if they are to find adequate solutions to contemporary and future problems.

TABLE 1

Purposes	Approaches Empirical-Rational	 Normative-Re-educative	 Power-Coercive
Implementation	· Marketing Strategy · Research, Develop and Diffusion Strategy	· Views from below: Implementation Research in Education · Rand Change Agent Study · Problem Solving Strategy · League of School I/D/E/A/ · Hall and Loucks	· Maguirre · Patterson and Czajkowski · Tye and Novotney · Fullen and Pomfret
Renewal	The Responsive Model of Change - Goodlad		

> Moving from a stable to a dynamic situation would mean that the organization is moving from being primarily a hierarchical goal-oriented organization to a survival-oriented organization. It is no longer possible to think that one can prescribe certain objectives and goals for the organization as the only guidelines for its activities. Unforeseen problems, new situations and future uncertainties increasingly make it necessary for the organization constantly to re-address itself to the problems (Dalin, p. 56).

Arthur Wise responds even more critically to the rational model. He sees a total disjuncture between the rational model and the realities of schools. This disjuncture results in something Wise calls hyper-rationalization. Hyper-rationalization occurs when,

> The bureaucratic characteristics of the schools are strengthened as decision-making about people and resources is based on established rules and procedures; scientific management techniques are adopted to increase efficiency; and goals are specified in measureable outcomes. To the extent that this process causes more bureaucratic overlay without attaining the intended policy objectives, it results in what I shall call the hyper-rationalization of the schools (p. 47).

An Evolutionary Model. Farrar et al. conceptualize implementation as an evolutionary process - which is an *ad hoc* process in which all aspects of an innovation (ends and means) are constantly revised based on the situation.

> Local school systems respond to reforms in terms of diverse internal needs. While these may be quite stable, they are often not uniform. Federal programs are thus often occasions for temporary conventions around common concerns, but different local groups perceive and seek to use the intervention differently. The so-called implementation process is thus not simply one of federal managers and district managers struggling to reconcile two views of a program, but one in which various local individuals and groups bargain away each other as much as with external agencies - or each do as they like without much bargaining (p. 81).

The Rand Change Agent Study. The so-called Rand Change Agent Study identified four clusters of broad factors that affected the implementation and continuation of local change efforts: institutional motivation, project implementation strategies, instructional leadership, and certain teacher characteristics. Each of these clusters presumes an innovative federal program coming to schools. The institutional motivation has to do with why teachers participated. Essentially, teacher confidence is important. When teachers viewed top administration as believing in the project, motivation was high.

The most effective project-planning strategy was a collaborated one. Teachers and administrators had equal input into developing project plans. During the first phase of this study, the research staff coined a concept called mutual adaptation to illustrate cooperative planning. This meant that the practices used by the teachers conformed to the project requirements but the requirements changed according to the day to day realities of the school. The building principal was pivotal to the long term effects of the project. This institutional leadership cluster indicated that the more the principal got involved (attended meetings) teachers inferred commitment on the principal's part. The idea of strong principal support is further reinforced in the work of Rosenblum and Lovis (1978). Additionally, the cohesiveness of the staff enhanced and promoted the long term effects of the project (Berman and McLaughlin).

The Problem-Solving Model. The problem-solving model is popular. The name implies many of the characteristics of the process - problem-solving. The school people identify their problems, with or without help from outside. The staff then searches for alternatives, selects one, tries it out on a trial basis. If successful, the teachers incorporate the solution into the existing system (Paul, p. 18). The "mutual adaptation" finding of the Rand study illustrated the user (teacher) focus of this strategy.

I/D/E/A/ League of Schools project also illustrated this problem-solving strategy. The staff of the study looked for

> ...responsible receptivity to change and our image of it was a school in which the staff regularly faced up to who they were, what they had, and what they wanted and in figuring out how to get from here to there, would seriously consider paths that they had never traveled as well as paths they knew (Bentzen, p. 63).

To this end, they developed a process called DDAE - Dialogue, Decision-making, Action, and Evaluation. The principal remained a large force in this process. He took on a new role - one as a "monitor of staff processes" (Bentsen, p. 69).

Thus I/D/E/A/ built into their problem-solving approach more than just user participation. They may have sensed what Charters and Pellegrin and Smith and Keith discovered - merely "having the right to decide may lead to confusion, frustration, role overload, and eventually rejection of the innovation" (Fullan and Pomfret, p. 95). I/D/E/A/ helped the user develop a process to deal with user decision-making and a new role for the principal.

An Influence Model. We move now to consider some literature on the Power Coercive approach to change. Maguirre discovered that political considerations played a large role in the problem-solving processes of a staff (1970). In addition, Patterson and Czajkowski illustrate a power strategy by focusing on PL 94-142 - the requirement that all handicapped youngsters have an individual education plan. No one wanted this but by law plans now must be developed. They also mention influence as another example. Here they mean to establish conditions that will influence implementation - preparation period to specifically work on a designated project (p. 206).

Tye and Novotney identify rewards as a form of power.

> Principals, for example, frequently have control over the allocation of resources to teachers. Also they frequently assign rooms to teachers and students to classes ... If a principal gives such rewards only to those who agree with his views or to those who are friendly, supportive, or who otherwise behave in concert with norms he sees as desirable, then it can be said that he is attempting to manipulate or coerce others into behaving in certain ways (p. 97).

Tye and Novtney urge that influence be exerted in the form of a like-minded organization, using McGregor's Theory X and Theory Y concepts (p. 99). Fullen and Pomfret also focus on the incentive system and how it affects implementation (p. 109).

The Responsive Model. One more strategy will be examined. It falls between the Empirical-Rational and Normative-Re-educative approaches to change. It grew out of the experiences of I/D/E/A/ in their Study of Educational Change and School Improvement (SECSI). It builds upon the work of Seymour Sarason. Sarason detailed the existence of a culture of the school that impeded or propelled changes. Because of the regulations of schools, and the fact that many ignored these regularities, change often stopped in front of the classroom door (1971).

Goodlad builds upon the findings of the SECSI study toward a responsive model. He postulates the following:

1. The optimal unit for educational change is the single school with its pupils, teachers, principal - those who live there every day - as primary participants.
2. Schools change over the years - in appearance, internal organization, the curriculum, and so on. Presumably, then, under certain conditions, a school could change itself so as to be more satisfactory and satisfying to those who are part of its culture. This implies some change-oriented activity on the part of these primary participants.
3. Another element in a comprehensive model of educational change is something equivalent to our hub which views as important the initiation and refinement of the DDAE process.
4. There must be a compelling, different drummer whose drumbeat somehow is picked up by the school's antenna. The sounds must be intriguing, challenging, countervailing, perhaps disturbing, but most of all they must be difficult to ignore.
5. Not only must the alternative drummer be perceived as salient, there must be a perception, also, of longevity.
6. If a change within the school is going to be significant and, therefore, probably to deviate from the established expectations and procedures of the system, the school will require a supportive peer reference group.
7. Although the growth of the new social system of schools reduces the vulnerability of each member school to attack from within its own ecosystem, the construction of communication networks with these larger systems is essential.
8. To respond to stimulation for change, even in relatively modest ways, is to require new knowledge, new skills, new patterns of behaving (pp. 175-184).

Staff Development in the Promotion of Change

State of the Art. The research on staff development presents an ambiguous set of findings with few sound research studies.

Most studies are evaluation reports about "successful" programs since most people do not report on unsuccessful attempts. In those reports that one can find, the results sections report fuzzy findings like "teachers felt the program helped them improve their 'classroom questioning techniques...'" Control groups are rarely used because no one wants to be left out of the exciting new program (ERIC, p. 182). Some useful studies exist. But, staff development has to be viewed in light of its purposes.

Training vs. Mutual Assistance. Some who are involved in research on teacher behavior regard the purposes as either "fine tuning" present skills or training for new ones (Joyce and Showers, p. 379). Lieberman, on the other hand, calls for alternatives to training. She outlines some of the alternatives: re-socialization, building group cohesion, and changing existing regularities. For anyone doing staff development with teachers, Lieberman and Miller suggest the following guidelines:

a. have a personal approach to the particulars of a school staff;

b. have ideas that are pregnant with possibilities, related to what teachers see as meaningful and doable given the real constraints of school;

c. think developmentally about the engagement of teachers with ideas in the same way that a teacher would with his/her class;

d. have the ability to work collegially with school people, recognizing the fact that it is not the teachers' problem but "our" problem (p. 67).

Resocialization. Several other studies and reviews support Lieberman and Miller's suggestions. Fullan and Pomfret distinguish between training and resocialization and state that "resocialization consists of unlearning some things and learning others" (p.   ). They see resocialization as more effective in the long run.

Bentzen describes the socialization differences in the league between schools that used DDAE and those low in it. Those high in DDAE showed more non-traditional views, leading Bentzen to speculate that these non-traditional beliefs were effected by professional discussions within the school (p. 141). This may suggest that staff development programs focus on the colleagiality advocated by Lieberman although Giacquinta concluded that resocialization is nearly impossible in a school setting (1978).

IGE (Individually Guided Education). The I/D/E/A/ Change Program evolved from the SECSI study (Goodlad and Bentzen). The program focuses on the school as the unit of change by assisting faculties in making policy for the school, jointly planning the instructional program, and collaborating with other IGE schools to reinforce the beliefs and processes the school has agreed to work on (Bahner).

ERIC Clearing House Review. From a review of some of the literature on staff development, the ERIC Clearinghouse summarized the following:

> 1. The persons responsible for programs would do well to choose those that are concrete and aimed at specific skills rather than theoretical. They should emphasize demonstrations and opportunities for staff to practice the new skill and receive feedback.
> 2. Programs should be individualized to address the requirements of each participant and relate to on-the-job needs.
> 3. The best programs appear to be on-going stretching throughout the school year - rather than a short workshop or course that is soon forgotten.
> 4. Programs are more successful at changing attitudes if they occur at school rather than elsewhere.
> 5. Observation of other teachers who are master teachers and practice the skills of the program appears useful.
> 6. When programs appeal to teacher's motivation, paying teachers is less useful.
> 7. Principals ought to be part of the staff development program and demonstrate their knowledge and support of the program.
> 8. Teachers need to be involved in planning and helping with programs and in project decisions. This calls for regular meetings (p. 184).

Rust argues for even more school based programs than the one suggested above. He states that:

> School-based and school directed institutional improvement has been found to be effective when school personnel are directly involved in assessing school needs

> and determining school goals. This is usually accomplished through a formal organizational development scheme (p. 124).

CBAM. Hall and Loucks present a model different from what Rust advocates. In their Concerns-Based Adoption Model, the individual becomes the target of the change; not the school. They believe institutions will only change after individuals have changed. This model uses a diagnostic/prescriptive process. Yet, several of the key principles of CBAM relate to what has been reviewed:

> 1. Be sure to attend to the teacher's concerns as well as to the innovation's technology.
> 2. It is all right to have personal concerns.
> 3. Do not expect change to be accomplished overnight.
> 4. Teachers' concerns may not be the same as those of the staff developers.
> 5. Within any group there is a variety of concerns (pp. 52-53).

Change and staff development seem inseparable. If staffs are to solve problems, a process, such as DDAE may aid them, but ideas about the process will have to be developed within the group. Or, if a particular innovation is attempted, staff development becomes important for helping the teachers moderate and implement the idea. Three generalizations come from this review on change process and staff development: the principal looms large - h/she must support and involve himself/herself in the change; the staff must interact together to develop cohesiveness; and school decisions, especially those related to the change, must become shared if lasting change is to occur.

Characteristics of Bilingual Programs

This section is divided into three sub-sections: a quick statement of the intent of ESEA Title VII; summary of some studies both questioning and supporting the intentions of these programs; and the models and types of bilingual programs discussed in the literature.

The Promise. In 1968, President Johnson signed the bill creating Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. This Bilingual Education Act stated that:

> ...the Congress declares it to be policy of the United States, in order to establish equal educational opportunity for

> all children (A) to encourage the establishment and operation, where appropriate, of educational programs using bilingual educational practices, techniques, and methods, and (B) for that purpose, to provide financial assistance to local educational agencies, and to State educational agencies for certain purposes, in order to enable such programs in elementary and secondary schools, including activities at the preschool level, which are designed to meet the educational needs of such children; and to demonstrate effective ways of providing, for children of limited Enlgish-speaking ability, instruction designed to enable them, while using their native language, to achieve competence in the English language (p. 355).

The act generated hope that both equality of educational opportunity and pluralism would flourish as a consequence of this act. David Ballesteros in 1970 viewed bilingual education as promoting five purposes:

> 1. It reduces retardation through ability to learn with the mother tongues immediately.
> 2. It reinforces the relations of the school and the home through a common communication bond.
> 3. It projects the individual into an atmosphere of personal identification, self-worth, and achievement.
> 4. It gives the student a base for success in the field of work.
> 5. It preserves and enriches the cultural and human resources of a people (p. 27).

The Reality. Ten years later the need and the expectations remain high but some have questioned the evidence that bilingual programs have promoted the purposes implied by the Bilingual Education Act. Some statistics may illustrate the need for bilingual programs. Five and six tenths percent of the total population of the United States have Hispanic origins. These individuals live primarily in the central cities of five states: Texas, California, New York, Florida, and New Mexico. And 20 percent of all Hispanic families had incomes below the poverty level; while only nine percent of the families from non-Hispanic families existed below the poverty level in 1977. These families have children who comprise six percent of the total public school enrollment. Hispanic youngsters whose ages were 14-19 were twice as likely as "white" students not to have completed high school. In addition, the data from the National Assessment of Education Program show that Hispanic students from three age levels (9-,13-, and 17- years) seriously trailed the national average in science and mathematics achievement (Brown, Rosen, and Hill, p. XVII).

Nevertheless, questions have arisen about the effectiveness of bilingual programs in the schools. Sometimes these questions have focused on the methods used by those studying bilingual programs. For example, Rodriguez-Brown et al. suggest that few insights arise from evaluations of bilingual programs because,

> 1. Many of the programs are in the formative stages when the evaluation occurs and then, may look differently weeks later - after the evaluation.
> 2. Process variables have not been assessed.
> 3. Inadequate instruments exist.
> 4. The political realities demand that evaluation reports be public relation documents for bilingual schooling (1976).

Nonetheless, some have attempted to evaluate existing bilingual programs. In 1974, the American Institutes for Research contracted the United States Office of Planning, Budgeting and Evaluation to conduct an "impact" study on Title VII. The intent of the study was to evaluate the impact of the Title VII program as a whole. They used programs that were in their fourth and fifth years of funding. The findings indicated that Title VII programs did not appear to have a consistent significant impact on students' English language arts or mathematics achievement. When the Title VII students were compared with non-Title VII students, the Title VII students performed worse in English than the non-Title VII students. When Title VII students were compared to national norms, Title VII Hispanic students performed near the 20th percentile in English reading and at about the 30th percentile in mathematics. Positive student attitudes toward school and school-related activities did not occur as a consequence of participation in the Title VII program (p. 17).

Disagreement arose over these findings. Charles P. Leyba of the National Dissemination and Assessment Center at California State University, Los Angeles, examined the results from one of the seven examplary programs identified by AIR but not used in their analysis. The results of this study were at variance with AIR findings. He found:

> 1. The Title VII students showed over time increasing capability in English language skills (especially reading) and mathematics.
> 2. The Title VII students over time in the majority of cases out-performed the non-Title VII students in reading and mathematics.
> 3. The Title VII students over time surpassed and/or matched national norms in reading and mathematics (p. ii).

Gary Orfield commented on the debate over the AIR results. He saw the research findings on bilingualism as both ambiguous and resulting from careless methods. But he did not

> ... believe that the negative research findings on the existing bilingual programs should lead to an abandoment of the effort. Anyone who has read much evaluation research realizes that very few educational programs produce dramatic gains. It may be that when the conditions and limits of bilingual programs become clearer and when better impact measures are desired, research results will improve. I would recommend, however, that both Congress and administrative agencies avoid any premature conclusion that bilingualism is the correct basic approach. I would recommend that Congress burden its legislation to support carefully controlled experiments with different methods of bilingualism, with immersion programs, with integration, with a pluralistic curriculum, with teacher and pupil training to better respond to the needs of non-English speaking children, and other methods. Congress could direct the National Institute of Education to conduct a multiyear comparative evaluation. My guess is that we would find out that various methods are more effective for particular groups of children in particular settings (p. 33).

The Programs. Orfield's call for research of different bilingual programs assumes that variations exist in the programs and that we understand the change process discussed in the first section of this review. Variations do exist in bilingual programs. As early as June 1969, William F. Mackey prepared a Typology of Bilingual Education for a Research Conference on Bilingual Education under the auspices of the

Bureau of Research of the United States Office of Education (Anderson and Boyer, pp. 63-79). Elsewhere Mackey provides a rationale for his typology:

> The term "bilingual school" means many things, even within the same country, and in any discussion is likely to mean different things to different persons. It cannot, in its present denotation, be taken as an object for research... what is needed, therefore, is not another definition of bilingual schooling or bilingual education but a classification of the field to account for all possible types - in other words, a typology (1972, p. 151).

Mackey views bilingual education as having four dimensions:

1. The learner in the home
2. The curriculum in the school
3. The community in the nation
4. The language in the pattern

These dimensions produce 270 different types of bilingual education. Of course, education entails all those people and places that educate; while schooling represents just one part of the child's total education. Consequently, of interest for this review is the dimension - the curriculum in the school. Central to this dimension is the extent of how much of a language is used in the school. The curriculum ranges from one that "transfers the language of learning from that of the home to that of the school. It may be completely acultural in that it takes no account of the language of the home" to one that does not distinguish between languages and gives both languages an equal chance (pp. 70-72).

Mackey's curriculum typologies focus on language. But, bilingual programs have additional elements other than language. One of these added elements is the culture. Nicholl studied 23 schools in ten school districts in Southern California to (1) analyze those aspects of Mexican American culture that were being included in the curriculum of selected ESEA Title VII (federally funded) bilingual education programs for elementary schools, (2) determine whether the programs had an objective assimilation into the mainstream of American culture, a cultural pluralism and the continued existence of a separate Mexican American culture (p. 2). To do this, the author compiled a list of 12 research questions:

1. To what extend did the programs analyzed use the term "culture" in its anthropological sense?

2. To what extent did the programs propose an *integrated culture*?
3. To what extent did the programs deal with the overt and *material aspects of culture*, and to what extent with the covert and non-material aspects?
4. To what extent did the programs *identify culture with language*? (was the program bilingual and bicultural?)
5. To what extent did the programs aim at *cultural appreciation*, and to what extent at actual *transmission of a second culture*?
6. Was there a clear consensus as to what constitutes the *essential elements of Mexican-American culture* to be included in such programs?
7. To what extent did the programs stress *Mexican national culture*, and to what extent *Chicano culture*?
8. To what extent did the programs set forth cultural elements typical of *Mexico's lower classes*, and to what extent elements from *Mexico's total national culture*?
9. To what extent did the programs propose elements of the *traditional folk culture* of Mexico's rural villages, and to what extent elements of *urban and metropolitan* Mexico?
10. To what extent did the programs set forth cultural elements typical of the *lower classes of Chicanos* - be they barrio Chicanos or farm laborers, and to what extent elements common to *Chicanos of whatever* class or setting.
11. To what extent did the programs propose elements of a *broader Hispanic or Latin-American culture*, and to what extent did they stress what is specifically Chicano or Mexican culture? (pp. 11-12).

These questions could serve as a guide for selecting the "culture" content of any bilingual program. Of course, Nicholl pushes for cultural pluralism. This pluralism has not become a part of many programs.

Nicholl cites the fact that over 80 percent of the first Title VII programs strove for assimilation; the remaining few only moderately moved toward cultural pluralism (p. 78).

To illustrate this, Nicholl notes that the American Insitutes for Research examined three Title VII model programs. Project AEDI, Corpus Cristi, Texas, was a transitional program emphasizing the multicultural aspects of American society in its Social Studies program. In the Houston, Texas project entitled Bilingual Education Program, the goal was "...eventual competency in the district's normal curriculum." Social studies was not considered a core content area, and emphasis on Mexican culture was considered an optional enrichment activity. Similarly, in the Bilingual Education Program of the Alice Independent School District, Alice, Texas, the culture and heritage component of the program was in Spanish. But the intent of the program was to move the students toward grade level expectations of the district (Nicholl, pp. 31-32). If pluralism is a goal, its realization is far away, given the programs reviewed by the American Institutes for Research.

The United States Commission on Civil Rights publication, A Better Chance to Learn: Bilingual Bicultural Education illustrates other aspects of bilingual programs. Curtis Harvey illustrates further the diversity that can exist in Bilingual programs. He elaborates four models.

> Model I - Instruction in the first language occurs during half the day; while second langauge instruction occurs during the other half of the day. The content may vary - some content is presented using the two languages. The children must know both languages.
>
> Model II - Instruction is presented in both languages for approximately the same amount of time. Any time block may have the two languages used in an integrated or separated way. Here too, the students must know both languages.
>
> Model III - In this transitional model, instruction begins with the first language, but as the second language is introduced gradually and learned, instruction in the first language diminishes until it is only used in an maintenance program.

> Model 1V - The second language is taught as a course in this predominantly English program. This model least qualifies as bilingual instruction (p. 229. See also, Gaarder).

Harvey also describes the components of A Statewide Design for Bilingual Education, Texas Education Agency. These coincide with the programatic aspects described by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. The components are:

1. The teachers use the child's language, concepts and experience to initiate the class codes of behavior and patterns of social interaction.
2. Child learns the four language skills of listening, speaking, reading, and writing in his/her dominant language.
3. The child's first language provides the medium through which the content areas critical to the intellectual and emotional development of the child are taught.
4. Every child develops in a second language.
5. The content areas provide the vocabulary and concepts for the teaching of the second language.
6. The child develops a positive identity with is cultural heritage by presenting the conflict and influence of the two cultures in the development of the states and nation (1975).

Even though some common dimensions appear among many bilingual programs, one caution is in order. Monolingual children and bilingual children have some homogeneous needs and, therefore, programs can address these homogeneous needs. Yet, individual differences exist among these children. Advocates of many of the bilingual programs may have overlooked this fact in their zeal to find a constituency for their program.

> There are very few clear cut data on the academic and cognitive effects of each of these types of programs and virtually none on the mechanisms through which these programs may have

> exerted their effects. The reason, I would suggest, is that evaluations have ignored the interaction between educational treatment variables and student input characteristics (Cummins, p. 241).

Cronbach and Snow see this "aptitude treatment interaction" omission as a shortcoming of much research on instructional methods (1977).

Bloom has taken this aptitude treatment interaction into consideration in his mastery learning. He advocates mastery learning for all students. This assumes that time is not a constant variable; rather that programs provide whatever time the youngster needs to learn the content of school. Then, for the bilingual child, time would vary for each child so that they could learn language, culture, and the academic content areas (i.e. mathematics) (1976).

Such a mastery approach calls for changes in classroom structure. One change is the amount of time children will need to learn. Adult to student ratios may need to be reduced. Bilingual programs have done this by hiring community persons to serve as aides in the classroom. Bernice Williams has suggested that the paraprofessional's role extend beyond the "another pair of hands" to include the rest of her - her culture, her language, her intimate knowledge of the community (p. 365).

Methodolgy

This study is exploratory-descriptive in nature: it describes the bilingual program of an elementary school as it existed under Title VII funding and how it has existed since the cut-off of those funds, and explores the described events with the aim of identifying key variables or factors affecting the process by which the change from one program to another took place. The study proceeded by gathering, ordering, and re-presenting historical, behavorial and attitudinal data derived from the program's history and the perceptions of those who participated in those events. The method for gathering the data was social-anthropological, whereby through the examination of written records and by participation and/or observation the researchers were able to characterize the target school's bilingual program both during and after Title VII funding.

The Study Site

The site of the study is an elementary school in a community to the east of the city of Los Angeles, California. Formerly agricultural, this community has rapidly become urbanized, with a population of 30,000, 46 percent of which is Mexican American. The larger percentage of wage earners in the school community are employed in several of the light industrial firms which border the school community in the capacity of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers. The elementary school (K-6) where the data was collected is located in a lower middle income residential community, not too distant from the community center. The school district of which the target school is a part encompasses two diverse communities. As previously mentioned, the community of which the target school is a part is a middle to lower middle to lower income community, and has a high percentage of Hispanic residents. The other community encompassed by the school district is a middle to upper middle community with a large number of professional and semi-professional residents. These two primarily residential communities are separated physically by a light industrial community.

The target school has an enrollment of approximately 475 students, of which about 75 percent are of Hispanic origin. The principal is Mexican American, and one-fifth of the teachers and over half of the aides are of Hispanic background.

Study Participants

The persons participating in this study were the school-site principal and selected members of the school staff, selected district administrators, a school board member, former district staff and school-site staff, students and former students, and selected parents and residents of the school-site community.

The manner of selecting participants for the study was on the basis of their being in a key position in the school, in the bilingual program, or in the district structure, or as in the case of teachers, aides, students, parents and community residents, as a randomly selected sample of the group to which they belonged. Participant teachers, [illegible] former teachers and former aides included those who [illegible] aggregate could represent the different periods of the school and its bilingual program.

Data Collection

From the above participants, data were collected by means of documents, observations and interviews. Historical documents were obtained from the school-site, from district offices, from community agencies and from local newspapers.

Observations were conducted at the school-site mainly for the purpose of familiarizing the researchers with the operation of both the school and the bilingual program. Classes, both bilingual and non-bilingual, were observed as well as staff meetings, student awards ceremonies, parent groups, staff inservice sessions, parent-teacher meetings, school-community celebrations, student play and various other activities taking place at the school. The observations served as a backdrop for the information gathered through the documents and the interviews.

Focused, open-ended interviews were utilized with the participants in this study. The interviews were "focused" in that what was being looked at were only particular aspects of a large range of events and the perception of those events taking place at the school and in the district. The "open-endness" of the interviews resided in the freedom of the interviewee to introduce relevant information, unanticipated by the researchers, to the discussion.

Interviews were conducted by Paul Sandorff and Consuelo Nieto jointly, or by each separately. These interviews were taped and transcribed.

For the researchers, focus and preliminary knowledge of the study area was derived from relevant literature, through documents generated by school personnel, chiefly the principal, school-community people, and newspapers, in discussion with California Learning Designs consultants and by the experience of the research project's co-principal investigator, Richard Piper, in his capacity as outside evaluator to the target school's Title VII bilingual program in the last four years of its operation. From this basis, a framework of 13 relevant topic areas was developed to guide the collection and ordering of the data. The 13 areas were as follows: community climate, policy climate, physical plant, organizational characteristics, school climate, structure of the project, curriculum structure, entry/exit system, staff, parent feelings about the program, sources and levels of project support, success, and staff development. Each topic was then broken into smaller subtopical units to provide greater definition to the focus.

Data collection in the form of obtaining historical documents was conducted mainly during the latter part of the 1979-80 school year and during the following summer. Most of the observations at the school-site were conducted during the last part of the 1979-80 school year, as were the interviews with school and district personnel. The interviews themselves were of an average duration of 45 minutes and most interviewees participated in only one interview session. Multiple interview sessions were conducted with the principal and other personnel key to an understanding of the bilingual program both at the school and district levels.

Although the majority of the data had been collected by the end of the 1979-80 school year, it was decided that it would be advantageous to collect further data at the beginning of the 1980-81 school year. One reason for continuing data collection at the beginning of a new school year was that the researchers felt that the beginning of a school year was the time when the school really made its program presentation to staff, students and the community. This, then, would be the best time to experience the initial impact of the school program, and to talk to those who were also experiencing the school for the first time. Another reason for continuing the data collection into the new school year was to look at, at least the beginning, of the second year after the defunding of the Title VII program. In the context of the new study focus, a look at the second year of post Title VII operation was judged to be potentially more informative than merely the end of the first year of operation.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE CHILDREN OF HIGHLAND WAY SCHOOL

Speaking of the principal of Highland Way School, his biographer says,

> I think one of the principal's goals is to prove that those kids, and by 'those kids,' I mean children predominantly Mexican American, that they aren't stupid, that they can achieve as well as anybody, that it doesn't make any difference. The difference is not in the blood, it is not inherited, and it is not in the neighborhood. It's that he can do it; he can take these kids and they can learn. And if he can get every single teacher, every single aide, every single staff to put in their time and more and totally dedicate themselves, the kids that he has there can achieve as high as or higher than the people up on the hill. So I think this is in his mind to prove because he's done it with himself. Something else he really wants for the children there, that they don't have to suppress what they are and where they came from."

This quotation is seminal because underlying it are many of the assumptions that have driven the principal and the program at Highland Way School. Note that something must be proven. What must be proven is that Mexican American students are not stupid, that they can achieve as well as anybody. Why must this be proven and who is to be convinced? Clearly, the answer to the first question lies in the historically low levels of achievement recorded by Mexican American students in the Southwest generally and in San Jacinto Valley specifically. The answer to the second question is: the rest of the school community.

Given this history of underachievement, "explanations" inevitably surface. Two of these "explanations" are specifically dismissed. One is the explanation advanced by some that certain human groups are biologically inferior ("The difference is not in the blood, it is not inherited..."). The other is the argument that certain human cultures are inferior to others. ("...it is not in the neighborhood.")

If there is a history of underachievement and if this can be attributed neither to biological inheritance nor to cultural deprivation, to what can it be attributed? The evidence indicates that the principal believes that the condition is a consequence of a very long series of events occurring within both Mexico and the United States. We shall return to this hypothesis in a moment.

Having rejected both the biological inheritance and the cultural deprivation hypotheses, there is room for optimism ("...the kids that he has there can achieve as high as or higher than the people up on the hill"). The students themselves are sound in body and mind and have a good cultural support system.

There is an additional assumption, however, and that is that there are pressures in the social system that would cause the students "to suppress what they are and where they come from." It makes no difference that they are fundamentally sound in body, mind, and culture if they have come to be ashamed of who they are. One must therefore supplement the academic teaching and learning program with a program that fosters pride in self and pride in one's own cultural group.

It is the position of the writers that the reasoning of the principal is fundamentally sound. There is considerable historical evidence to indicate that both the lower level of achievement and the poor self-esteem of Mexican American students in San Jacinto Valley can indeed be traced to historical events. The following historical sketch is offered in support of this contention.

The selection of a beginning point is somewhat arbitrary since there seems to have been a trace of mutual depreciation between Anglos and Mexicans from at least the beginning of the nineteenth century. This is probably understandable given the vast cultural differences between the two groups and the ethnocentrism of both.

This mutual depreciation might never have had any great historical significance had it not been for the territorial ambitions and the military strength of the United States. Given, however, that Mexico had a legitimate claim on lands that were coveted by the United States, the situation was destined to become nasty.

The first encroachment of the United States on Mexican territory came in Texas. It all began quite innocently when Anglos, at the invitation of the Mexican government settled in what is now Texas. It turned ugly when the Anglo settlers began backing away from their initial acceptance of the sovereignty of the Mexican government in the territory. The Anglo Texans successfully rebelled and separated from Mexico. Talk of annexation to the United States began. Talk became a reality and this was followed by a dispute between Mexico and the United States over the legitimate border between the two countries. The United States sent troops into the disputed territory. Mexico interpreted this as an invasion of its own territory. This was a challenge that had to be met with force and the Mexican American War was on.

Without entering into unnecessary detail, Mexico was militarily overmatched and quickly defeated. The terms of the settlement were dictated to Mexico. They were drastic. She lost half her national territory.

For purposes of this report, the focus is not on what Mexico lost but rather on what the Mexican people who remained within the conquered territory experienced as a consequence of the loss. Under terms of the Treaty of Gualalupe Hidalgo, these people had been granted full United States citizenship with full constitutional guarantees. Yet, within 20 years of the signing of the very treaty that guaranteed these privileges and protections, they had lost almost all their land, most of their businesses, and their participation in government. They were forced to study in segregated schools. Along with this, they were forced to work for half the wages paid Anglos for the same work and eventually, to work only in the more menial, unskilled occupations. These conditions led them into poverty and other conditions that resulted ultimately in the kinds of educational harms that were exhibited by Chicano students in the San Jacinto Unified School District, namely, lowered achievement, higher rates of dropout, lower rates of college entrance, etc. This report is an account of how the District attempted to alleviate these harms.

TITLE VII AND AFTER AT HIGHLAND WAY SCHOOL: THE FINDINGS

General Character of the Findings

The task of this chapter is to characterize Highland Way School's bilingual program, both during and after the time it was funded under the E.S.E.A Title VII. After the data was gathered and organized, the researchers faced a major decision regarding the character of the program: whether the central instructional goal of the program was to educate bilingually or whether another goal held primacy. The reseachers decided that the latter was the case, that the first goal of the bilingual program was the goal that the principal set when he arrived at Highland Way School several years prior to the Title VII program, and one which he still holds: that the children of that school community are to be accepted by the staff as able learners, regardless of ethnic, economic or social background, and are to be taught with the expectation that they will achieve at that school. A prime consideration was, and remains, that the children become proficient in the English language as quickly as possible.

Title VII: A Very Opportune Tool

For the researchers, then, the Title VII bilingual program is seen as having been a highly opportune and enabling tool for Highland Way in the pursuit of its chief goal of producing students who achieve at a level equal to the prevailing academic norms. This is not stated to minimize the impact that the Title VII program has had upon the school, the school community, the District and bilingual programs in surrounding communities. It is to say that whatever success, whatever impact the Highland Way bilingual program had, and it appears to have been quite sizeable, was chiefly in the service of developing students who could achieve academically, in English, in the areas of reading and mathematics--and guided to a great extent by the objectives underlying the Comprehensive Tests of Basic Skills and the California Achievement Tests.

School Operations as "Constant" and "Changing" Variables

Having set out what they consider to be one of the major characteristics of the Highland Way bilingual program, the researchers find in that characterization a basis for organizing the findings of their investigation. The weight of evidence, they judge, lends itself to viewing the overall school program conceptually as consisting of two distinct sets of elements. First, there are a number of "constant" elements of school operation present at Highland Way that were in place prior to, during and after the Title VII program and/or which can be viewed as transcending that program. In the past, as now, these elements set the "tone," or emotional character, of the school. Examples are the goals and principles guiding the attitudes and actions of the staff, the leadership style of the principal, and the prominence of staff inservice, organization and planning in instructional operations. Secondly, there are several "changing" elements of school operation, chiefly those of the Title VII program, which were present and made their impact mainly for the duration of the program or some program aspect. "Changing" elements are exemplfied by the bilingual instructional aides from the school community present in every classroom during a large period of the Title VII program and by the bilingual program being aide-based in earlier Title VII years while teacher-based in later years.

The terms "constant" and "changing" are placed in quotes to denote that the elements of one category are relative to those of the other. It also means that elements of either category are not immutably bound to that category in the light of future developments. However, the researchers see the division to be valid as a basis for structuring their findings.

Organization of the Chapter

The chapter, then, is organized into two main sections. The first section describes the "constant" features of the Highland Way program: 1) the style of instructional leadership, 2) the school's educational philosophy, organization and delivery approach, 3) the instructional staff and the school atmosphere, 4) the style of staff development, and 5) the manner of parent/community participation. In the second section, the Title VII and post-Title VII bilingual programs are described in a history which highlights the different phases of implementation and the attendant program models. An examination is then conducted whereby the programs are viewed in the light of: 1) the district policy climate, 2) the school climate, 3) the instructional organization and delivery, 4) staff development, and 5) parent/community response and participation.

The "Constant" Characteristics of Highland Way School

To speak of the "constant" characteristics of Highland Way School is largely to speak of one person: the principal. He is the generative force within the school. He is the instructional leader. The goals of the school are mainly his goals. He not only selects his staff but trains them to teach his way. He constantly monitors their performance and provides for their inservice. And he is Highland Way's first ambassador to the school community.

However, though more of what is described in this section will focus upon or revolve about the principal, he is not the total story. The staff also participate in their own manner, thereby additionally constituting what is "constant" about the Highland Way program.

Instructional Leadership - The Principal

Personal characteristics. Almost all, if not all, of the principal's personal characteristics and behaviors observed by the researchers or noted by the interviewees are related to the elements of his style of leadership and the "constant" school program structures. For that reason they will be covered in detail in the appropriate place. However, it will be of value to identify the dominant ones and to state briefly their relevance to areas of school operation.

What one notices most about the principal is that he is always in motion, doing something, going somewhere, talking to someone, questioning what is going on at his school. He is in control and in charge. He has a reputation for being both a hard worker and a "slave driver," and he looks for staff who will keep pace with him. The pace he sets derives mainly from within himself. He is a self-starter, and for all his personal monitoring of staff activities, he tends to encourage his staff to operate in a like manner. Planning and organization are two hallmarks of the principal's behavior, which when adopted by the teachers, directly affect class management and the quality of instruction.

Physically, the principal is dark and Indian-looking, much like many of the people in the school community. He is trim, well-groomed and tastefully dressed at all times. This concern with personal physical appearance matches his concern for the physical appearance of his staff and the school, particularly the appearance of the classrooms. In this way, the principal and staff seem to be saying to the community outside, "Hey, look at us, we're something special to see."

The principal has a certain impetuous character to him which, like a two-edge sword, cuts both ways. On the one hand, he expresses his passionate will to educate to the best of his ability the children in his charge and to support to the full anyone who will work with him. On the other hand, he tends to indulge in negative criticism and to "shoot from the hip" with words and judgements. Both facets appear to play a large part in conditioning the personal and work responses of the instructional and support staffs and the personal and participatory responses of the parents and community people.

Leadership style

> I am *the boss* -- and you had better believe it. Things are going to be done my way and no other way. My school is going to become the best school in this district. Or else. Some of you are going to have to answer to me. Your way of teaching is going to change. Your environment, everything. We're starting at the bottom.... There's no place to go but up. (Nicholl and Gomez, p. 157).

This, recalls the principal of Highland Way School, was the manner in which he greeted his teachers at their first staff meeting. From the beginning he confronted them with his own personality and manner of doing things. The school was in a bad condition, remembers a teacher who came there a year before the principal, and the new principal was sent to "clean it up."

> Discipline was non-existent at the school during that year--my first year there and the year before [the principal] brought order. There were fires in the bathrooms, fights on the yard, smoking behind the buildings, and so on. The teachers were totally 'fed up' with the principal, who was admittedly a nice man, but a jellyfish. ... Things radically changed at the school when [the principal] arrived in September of 1966, but I know that is why he was sent: to end the anarchy by applying a firm, firm hand (Nicholl and Gomez, p. 165).

The role of "boss" which the principal assumes (or, as he puts it, "benevolent dictator") tends to be very one-way, *his* way, and some who work with him have expressed how difficult it can be to get him to change. Several interviewees recalled that during the Title VII program it took some time for him to accept beginning reading for LES/NES students in their first language as being a more productive approach to learning English than by starting in English. It had to be proven to his satisfaction that the new method was better, and this, according to the interviewees, did not happen overnight. His response, while not directed to the instance cited above, might well be similar to that which he directs at criticism of his leadership style and content in general:

> I will not deviate with what I think works. If I'm wrong then somebody should have proved it to me a long time ago. So far I don't get this and I've talked to great educators that I respect a lot, and they always tell me I'm on the right track. We've

> had the biggest of the biggest people come to [Highland Way]. And I said, "Oh, oh, here's where I'm going to get it." Never. They've been the most complimentary. So, why should I change? If they want to prove me wrong I want to be proved wrong. If I'm wrong I'll appreciate it, I'll welcome it.

Trying to strike a balance in speaking on the principal's attitude, one staff member commented: "Sometimes he overdoes it himself [sticking to his own way] and he will admit it. But he accomplishes it more than he misses it."

One authority image applied by some to describe the principal is that of the patriarch, the stern but loving father who cares for and protects his family.

> He's in the Latin American tradition a patriarch. It's like that's his extended family and he monitors, kind of watches every movement that takes place; I mean everything in the whole school.

This characterization appears to be apt for several reasons. First, he is an authority figure within a predominantly Mexican community, one who grew up within that kind of family structure himself (cf. Nicholl and Gomez). "Patriarch" seems particularly apt because many people, both inside and outside of the Mexican/Latin culture, ascribe to him the characteristics that define this image. Foremost among these characteristics is that he is dedicated to his "family" ("family" is used frequently by staff and parents to describe themselves). To the staff and to parents, the proof of his dedication comes in the amount of work he gives to the job and the results he obtains; that is, he provides for the family.

> He just began right away trying to get things he wanted, teachers working as he wanted them to work. He wasn't here very long before they began getting the federal programs and he worked very hard getting those. He got a lot of things going here for him and he worked very long hours. He didn't take vacations. His fun thing was to be at school. He has never expected a teacher or any staff member to do anything that he wasn't doing twice that much and they knew it.

Carrying the patriarchal image further, the principal of Highland Way is the father who knows his family and what is happening within that family. One thing the researchers heard time and again was how the principal is everywhere, particularly in the classrooms, and knows everything that goes on there. From his co-biographer:

> A leader who every single day is in every single classroom two to three times a day. And when he goes in every classroom to look he knows every single child, and he's monitoring every child, every teacher, every aide, every day; he knows what's happening in the school.

From a district resource teacher, who notes that teachers and former teachers replicate this approach:

> He has a Rolodex in his desk [with pictures of all the children] and I know he knows every single child personally; he knows their background, he knows their families, their moms and dads and all the gory details...

From an aide formerly at Highland Way:

> He knows everything and now that I am not working there he called me and said, "How come you don't come by?" He knows everything about our family; you know he cares.

With respect to certain groups within the school the patriarchal image used of the principal is apt, though certainly not exclusive. This regards his attitude towards his staff, particularly his teachers, in their relations with non-staff, namely students, parents and others in the community. He is loyally protective and supportive, though not blindly so. Remarks a teacher:

> He will always back you up, in front of the parents, in front of the children; you are correct. "The teacher did it and there was a reason for it, and the child knew it." But afterwards he'll chew you out: "What did you do that for?" But he's always on your side and that, too, makes for a good feeling.

Students, especially, are the recipients of the principal's "stern but loving father" approach, which is indicated in the words in which he addressed the students at the beginning of the current school year: We love you dearly, we really do. Your teachers do. I love you dearly. But you'd better do what we tell you to. Your job is to obey your teachers." And he personally sees that the students do obey, as he related to one of the researchers.

> I don't know if you've noticed but certain kids have to say "good morning" to me in the morning and have to say "good night"

> at night. They are the biggest punks I've ever had. They're all from that [other school] area. I get my kids eventually where they behave.

For those parents to whom the researchers spoke, this attitude meant he cared for the children. The following was typical:

> I think his yelling and stuff at kids, I think it makes them feel good. If you let up on a kid he'll just go his own way, he has nobody to say, "Hey, don't do that." If you tell somebody, "Don't do that," it's because you care.

The "stern father," to continue the image, is the respected authority, but often one with whom few family members are intimate. Such seems to be the case with the principal of Highland Way School. In his quest to make Highland Way "the best school in the District" he is prone to be brusque and to very quickly and bluntly tell people what he thinks. He is critical, often negative (a tendency in himself he would like to temper with more recognition and praise for the contributions of those he criticizes), and even his staunchest admirers admit it is his weakest point.

> He does tend to pick up more on the negative things. There must have been enough positive things said somewhere to make enough people stick around. He has told me some positive things, but it is a chore for him and he's constantly given that challenge to come up with a little bit more than that. He needs to do that.

In particular the teachers, especially new teachers, feel his sting when he critiques their teaching. Past occasions where he has berated teachers on their teaching, or what he considered a lack of teaching, in front of the class have become legendary. Though most feel he has mellowed a great deal since those days, the more recent experience of a teacher shows that his evaluations can still be devastating.

> [The principal] would come and do observation and then he would give you one of his memos. At the beginning of the year there was not a positive comment in, say, two pages of typewritten, single-spaced evaluation. It was just, "This was a waste of time. These people are doing something that is Mickey Mouse and it's not really valuable for them" But I wasn't the only one so I don't feel that I was being picked on as just being me.

Although his most exacting criticism is reserved for the teachers, and then the aides-- "He does not tolerate mediocrity" --the parents also come in for heavy lecturing on their responsibilities in preparing their children for school. For instance, in a recent school newsletter, which the principal writes, the following item was found under the heading "The Parent's Corner:"

> During this summer I read a very interesting book entitled: How To Get Your Children To Do What You Want Them To Do. Perhaps this would be a good way to start out Parent's Corner. I'm sure most of us have had the problem of getting our children to bed at a reasonable hour during school nights. To begin with, you, as the parent, must make it loud and clear who is the boss. It is of the utmost importance that your children know that you run the household. You are in charge, not they.

The principal thus has no hesitancy in laying down what some consider, very tough, almost unreasonable, rules for the children's lives during the school year and in expecting the parents to support him in enforcing those rules.

In spite of this he would like to be less negative and abrasive and not hurt people to the extent he sometimes does. However, the principal is respected for his approach, even admired, and this appears to reinforce the feeling that he must be doing something which is essentially correct. As an example, the principal's recent letter to the staff, "Post Mortems on Back-To-School Night," contains a commentary on his feeling that he ought not hit so hard, but that when he does it seems to come out alright.

> I had the nerve to change my sermon [to parents] last night. As I started talking I had apprehensions about where my topic was leading me. But as I got wound up I couldn't stop so decided to let them have both barrels. I figured if they are going to hand me for a lamb, they might as well hand me as a sheep.
>
> As soon as I got off the stage I braced myself for the inevitable onslaught of parents, but lo and behold they loved what I said. I was especially happy to hear so many of the [formerly neighboring school] parents' favorable comments.

And the same attitude seems to prevail in his relations with his staff. He is rough on them and some leave because of that. But in those who remain and follow his dictates he finds the resources to achieve what few other schools of Highland Way's composition have achieved: high test scores, a hard-working and prideful staff, student respect for teachers and the school, and substantial parent involvement. As he says, "The proof is in the pudding."

As has been indicated above, the principal's style is to be directly involved in the operations of the school. This is particularly so in terms of knowing what is happening in the classrooms, in the instructional process. Thus, he is in the classrooms every day, sometimes two and three times a day, perhaps more when there are teachers new to the school. The visits can be very brief, sometimes to deliver a message to the teacher or to ask for the lunch count, but the staff feel that he usually accurately assesses what is going on in that room. Beside knowing the names of all the students, the principal knows their progress in learning, another result of his daily visits to the classrooms. One result of this near constant presence, besides keeping the teachers "looking over their shoulders," is that he knows when some tendency in a teacher or a group of teachers or the staff as a whole is developing that he feels should be corrected or encouraged. He also knows when a certain resource is lacking to the teachers and needs to be supplied. Hence, many of the inservices he conducts or has conducted address directly what he has observed in the classroom.

On the school grounds, the principal's direct involvement with all aspects of the school leads him to be the chief disciplinarian and to monitor the students' relations with one another. As the researchers observed, at the least sign of something going awry on the school yard, the principal is out of his office and confronting whichever student he feels needs admonishing. Though there are janitors and gardeners to care for the grounds, he himself not only supervises that care but may even personally take part. This was especially true when he first came to the school (cf. Nicholl and Gomez, p. 156).

To the parents and to the public outside the school, the principal remains the head ambassador and public relations person. And he does most of this himself, though not exclusively. Visitors to the school do not wander around the grounds, the researchers observed, without quickly being met by the principal and conducted around personally or by someone delegated to that job, often the school-community aide. At parent gatherings he is always present in a conspicuous place, greeting and talking to his guests. This outreach to the parents and the community extends to their homes. Toward the end of the last school year it was learned that a school in the area would be closing and that students would be shifted to other schools. As soon as the principal received the list of which students would be coming to Highland Way, he took his school-community aide and personally visited as many of those homes as there were parents present.

This extensive involvement in the affairs of his teachers, aides, students and parents does not seem to extend to the higher echelons of the school system. Though attentive to his position and responsibilities as a principal within the district, he does not seen to be involved with his peers and superiors anywhere near to the extent with which he is involved with the people of his school. In the past, and to this day, he has often been at odds with what he refers to as the "powers that be" and has taken positions contrary to theirs. Thus, it is the same behavior of the principal, the attitude towards "telling it like it is" that puts a certain distance between himself and his fellow administrators and the school board as it does between himself and the staff and school-community. The major difference in the two relations, it would seem, is that in the latter he has most of the power and can set the tone, while in the former, they are mainly in control.

Two characteristics of the principal's leadership style seem to the researchers to go together and complement each other: that he is goal-oriented in his tasks and that he is to a great extent self-motivated. The principal, it appears, accepts the district programs and works very hard to see that they are implemented at the school. But, he came to Highland Way School with many goals in mind and retains most of them to this day, as will be seen below. These are the goals that guide his actions, contend the researchers, and they come from within him, inspired chiefly by three sources within his experiences:

- His dislike for much of what he sees in education, which he considers destructive or non-productive to a child's learning up to his or her potential.
- The belief that the children of Highland Way School (mostly Mexican Americans like him) can achieve as well as those children in the more affluent schools in his district or any other because he has done it in his own life.
- His respect for educators who tend to favor a more structured teaching approach.

If it is asked to whom the principal is responsible in the administration of the school, one can point to the organizational chain of command, but it would probably be more accurate to say that the principal is responsible to his own image of what is needed for the teachers, aides, students and parents of that school and community. And it is quite likely that that image derives mainly from the three sources offered above.

From conversation with the principal and from reading his writings, it appears that his dissatisfaction with much of what goes on in schools is one of the strong motivating forces in his leadership style; he reacts forcefully against what he considers destructive attitudes and practices. About some other principals he has this to say:

> But most principals, they're not the leaders. They don't do anything. Some of them are just marking time. And they don't want to work that hard.

Responding to a query about the apparently high teacher turnover at his school he says:

> Most schools that I have known nothing ever happens: the same principal, the same teachers, they teach the same grades, the same everything. It's a bunch of nothing. It's a big blah. And they're still doing it.

The staff and others have noted that he is sensitive, maybe even touchy, about the way people talk about the children and of their culture in general. In his own words and then in those of one of the staff:

> I think they tread very carefully if in their own ignorance they're going to say or do something. And that's because of me. Whereas in another school I'm sure they would make cracks like I've heard, "Boy, I'm glad I don't have those dumbbells [LEP/NEP students]; I'm glad you've got them in your bilingual class. Take this one." I'd better not hear anything like that

> The lazy Mexican thing, with the statues on lawns, the hat, going to sleep. That really antagonized him. Anytime there was anything that had the least flavor of that, he'd light into it.

Thus, it appears that much of his heavy criticism is leveled against what he sees as malpractice in education, and this critical approach forms one segment of the direction he takes at the school.

At the beginning of Chapter Two a quote from the principal's co-biographer was chosen to introduce a brief history of the San Jacinto Valley and the San Jacinto School District, the subjects, along with Highland Way School, of this report. That statement probably capsulizes best what is the motive central to the principal's direction at the school:

> ...to prove that those kids, and by those kids I mean children predominatly Mexican American, that they aren't stupid, that they can achieve as well as anybody, that it doesn't make any difference... It's that he can do it, he can take those kids and they can learn... So I think this is in his mind to prove because he's done it with himself.

This attitude is reflected in the principal's own words.

> These teachers and my carefully trained bilingual aides were accomplishing what many people don't believe can happen, that is, that a minority child from a poverty environment can learn, and at an outstanding level.

Because of his own experience, the principal is quite sensitive to the manner in which school systems in his area have, through certain attitudes and practices, systematically discriminated against Mexican American students because of the students' language, their color or their cultural background (cf. U.S. Civil Rights Commission Report, The Excluded Student). Thus, he feels keenly aware of the roadblocks that educators can place, through ignorance or bigotry, in the path of children who are Mexican American, Mexican or other Hispanic background. The principal's direct, personal monitoring of classroom and other school activities seems, in part, to be directed towards eliminating those roadblocks from the very beginning.

During the summer prior to the beginning of the current school year, the researchers received a copy of a letter the principal sent to all the staff members, part of which was the following:

> Welcome back! I hope all of you are rejuvenated and as anxious as I am for school to begin. I know some of you think that something must be wrong with me, because I think September is the most exciting month of the year. To be honest with you, I really start getting excited on the first day of August, because to me it even seems that our economy starts perking up then...
>
> In spite of the uncertainties that come with every new school year, I find myself getting hyper and hyper as September draws near. I know this is partly due to the new staff members we will have. This always exhilarates me, because I love the challenge of working with new people...

The researchers did not think that there was something wrong with the principal because they were already acquainted with his enthusiasm for school and had heard from others that this was his normal attitude. So, the question became, "How do you keep your enthusiasm up? What stimulates you intellectually so that you don't get into a rut?"

The principal's response yielded two main sources. One is primarily an emotional support and has been spoken of above: constant reinforcement in what he is doing through the support of the community and the achievement of the students. The other source, or sources, of stimulation are intellectual and emotional and are best put in the principal's own words.

> Many people wonder what I do all summer. I do a lot of reading, a lot of studying. This is the time I can go into material that I can't afford to go into during the year. And I get kind of psyched up. Then I start planning. I rely a lot on writing. I like philosophy. I pick up things and I digest them and I internalize them. I live a lot off newspaper clippings. I read books. I read a lot of educational magazines. And these reinforce my thinking. I'm not saying that's number one.
>
> I have some people who really impress me. For instance, I went to a workshop this summer. There happened to be four people giving this workshop who are just about my idols in education. One of them is X. I worship this woman. She's the most stimulating person that I have ever met. I'll go anywhere to listen to her because I know it's going to be worthwhile. See, I really believe in education, and when people say, "The high schools are no good," or, "The high school principal's behave a certain way," it bothers me. Here I say, "Education is so wonderful," and here my colleagues--this principal is making fun of me. So, when I meet these educators I've been talking about, I latch on to what they're saying. It makes me feel that I'm alright. The worst thing is to be left alone and in a vacuum where nothing reinforces you. I have my idols; I have my authors. There's about five or six people, not too many. I think the balance between some of these people and me is such that I think we empathize. I know Y does, he's one hundred percent for bilingual education, the downtrodden, the minorities and all that. X is just a good gal. Her theme is that all students can be educated, it doesn't matter

> what grades, black, poor, and don't make excuses about the lousy parents. That's all what I believe in. And when I hear a person talking like that, who doesn't necessarily have to, it makes me feel good.

It also happens that X believes in a classroom structure that identifies with the teacher act of instructing something in a directed way.

Instructional Leadership - The Staff

It is easy to get the picture that Highland Way School is under autocratic rule and that the principal does everything, because his personality and presence so dominate. But one of the characteristics of the staff is that they tend to complement the style of the principal and carry much of the load that is attributed to him. This is particularly true of the resource teachers and the school-community aide. Of the resource teachers, the principal has this to say:

> I'm going to be depending a lot on my resource teachers. They make me good. I put the onus of a lot of things on their shoulders. In other words, the three of us are together in this thing. And they take it very seriously. Consequently, my job is not that difficult.

The work of the resource teachers at Highland Way is highly regarded by the staff, and at the first staff meeting of the current school year they were accorded the only applause given by the teachers and aides when introduced.

The work of the resource teachers is to give support and technical assistance to staff in curriculum and instructional matters. They often complement the principal, especially with new teachers in a kind of "bad guy - good guy" interchange where the principal plays the "heavy," laying down the rules, making demands and critiquing the performances of the instructional staff; while the resource teachers direct the teachers and aides to the materials and techniques that will help them to learn the skills that he demands. The resource teachers, in particular the one who has been there the longest, are also interpreters of the principal to the staff, helping them to understand his ways.

The school-community aide has added a new dimension to the principal's outreach to parents and the school-community. Her job is to be his extension to the parents, particularly the Spanish-speaking parents, to explain how the school functions and how they can aid in their children's education. As with the resource teachers, the school-community aide is an interpretor of the principal to the parents and the community.

One of her most fruitful endeavors, and of particular value to the principal, has been to bring more Spanish-speaking parents into contact with and participation in the activities of the school.

> She has brought in more parents with her Spanish than I would have dreamed to bring in because she's making these people very, very comfortable. Whereas I, just because I spoke Spanish, I didn't have that demeanor nor the presence she has. So, we have more parents now speaking Spanish than we did under Title VII. She really did it.

"These are my instructional leaders," says the principal of his teachers, and this appears to be more than a euphemistic phrase. By law the teacher is legally responsible for his or her classroom and since the advent of the widespread use of instructional aides, this has been emphasized to clearly distinguish the role of each. At Highland Way the principal distinctly stresses the leadership function of the classroom teacher. She or he makes the major decisions concerning the physical structure of the room, what will be taught and how, who will do certain tasks; in other words, the teacher is responsible for the overall planning for the class.

The teachers at Highland Way also share the principal's function of training teachers new to the school in the Highland Way manner of doing things. Often this is done informally, whereby a more experienced teacher will, on his or her own, help the new teacher "get up to speed," and perhaps dispell some of the anxiety she or he is bound to feel. But the principal has also formalized this "buddy system" to a great extent by assigning veteran teachers to the new ones and making them responsible for the latter's understanding of what is expected of them. The researchers observed that when an aide did not show up at an assembly for parents at the beginning of the school year, which presence might have been discretionary at another school but not at Highland Way, it was to the aide's teacher that the principal immediately turned to ascertain whether the aide had been informed of that requirement.

Inservice leadership, though shared mostly with the resource teachers, is also a function of the classroom teachers when they have some special skill or knowledge to share with the staff. On several occasions while visiting the schol, the researchers observed that teachers were out participating in workshops and were informed that on their return they would share their experience with the principal and the other teachers.

For all his aggressive and direct involvement in all facets of life at Highland Way, the principal does appear to let staff members do their jobs. He gives the parameters and states the goals, but expects that the staff person will carry out the task in his or her own way. He will not "nursemaid" people through their jobs; if he has to do that he will regard them as incompetent and want to be rid of them.

Educational Beliefs, Goals and Means

Certain beliefs and goals are very much in evidence at Highland Way School and are constantly being articulated, mainly, but not exclusively, by the principal. Though the impression he makes is more noticeable, the researchers found that the staff also, in general, appear to be highly committed to the philosophy the principal espouses. After talking to a number of the teachers a few years ago another researcher noted:

> I interviewed most of the teachers and found they're from all over the country, from all sorts of ethnic backgrounds, but the similarity is that they have come, many of them, the same route as these children right now are going through. They've come up from very poor backgrounds, poverty, from broken families, from ethnic groups that were not accepted, and they feel, "Hey, I want these kids to have it different." And this is the way [the principal] is.

Thus, while it may be tempting to question whether a teacher has any real voice in the matter (the researchers believe that the principal would not tolerate openly expressed views contrary to his major principles), it is a non-issue because the principal seems to choose with great regularity people who have beliefs similar to, if not the same as, his. It is the style that differs, not the substance.

Schools make a difference.

Hand in hand with his belief that the children of his school can achieve as well as any children is the conviction that education is important to children, particularly to the Mexican American children. Nowhere is this so apparent as when the principal addresses the parents, whether in person or through his many written communications. His insistence that they send their children to school everyday underlines his belief that schools do make a difference to the success of the children. Quoting from the Highland Way Newsletter for March, 1980,

> We believe that TO LOVE A CHILD IS TO EDUCATE HIM, but we cannot educate your children if you don't send them to school.

> Did you know that some children are absent on an average of two days a week - usually every Monday and Friday? That averages to around 60 or 80 days of LEARNING NOTHING! To put it differently, some children only attend school half of the time. What a waste! How cruel!
>
> Finally, have you, as a parent, ever thought of what could be the best thing you could do for your child while both of you are alive? Easy! It's seeing that he gets the best education he can get. And the only way he is going to get an education is for you to see that he gets to school every day. So, if you love your child, SEND HIM TO SCHOOL EVERY DAY!

As can be seen, the principal lays a heavy moral obligation upon the parents, but even allowing for oratory license the message of the whole article is clear. To paraphrase it it is: Our staff of dedicated, caring, hard-working teachers and aides are knocking themselves out because they want your children to learn. And we can do it if those children are here every day!

Teachers make THE difference

> No matter how many programs a school has--no matter how much money is pumped into a school's curriculum, or even if you gild its classroom walls with gold--nothing is going to happen unless you have the right personnel--for a school is only as good as the teachers who staff it.

So writes the principal in a handout introducing the school to new teachers. He not only sees teachers as the determining influence upon the child, but also contends that "the bottom line is that THE WAY A TEACHER FEELS, "INSIDE" TOWARDS A CHILD IS THE MOST IMPORTANT INGREDIENT FOR THE SUCCESS OF A SCHOOL." In line with these beliefs are a number of other tenets which the principal holds about teachers:

> Verbal skills and attitude of the teacher are more important than all his degrees.
>
> A SECURE TEACHER IS A GOOD TEACHER
>
> Personality - the key to good teaching.
>
> DEVELOPING A GOOD SELF CONCEPT IN CHILDREN - OR HOW TO TEACH AT [HIGHLAND WAY].

As can be seen, it is the personal qualities of the teacher that are emphasized first; those are the characteristics the principal believes count most when it comes to developing successful and achieving students.

Of course, this in no way diminishes the principal's demand for competent teachers. As he says, "Children don't dislike a teacher because they are bad children, rather because the teacher is a bad teacher (no talent)." What is most important is how that teacher relates to the student as a person. If he or she is a person who likes children and is enthusiastic about working with them, the principal prides himself on being able to work successfully with that teacher in order to overcome any insufficiencies in instructional skills that the latter might have. As teachers and former teachers at Highland Way have attested, "You learn how to teach there."

The reason for such emphasis on the teacher's ability to have rapport with the child seems to be the principal's belief that, "It is really impossible for children to succeed if they don't have a good self-concept about themselves." Thus, when he says, "Developing a good self concept in children - or how to teach at [Highland Way]," he is implying that teachers who do not like children, and in particular these children, cannot really succeed at developing a good self-concept in them. There may be operational attitudes and techniques to which the teacher can be alerted (and the principal ennunciates a number of these) so as to improve his or her ability to develop a better self-concept in the students, but the principal believes, it cannot make up for one's lack of caring for the children as human beings.

Teachers at Highland Way School perceive very much the same qualities in themselves or in their co-workers that have been spoken of above. The emphasis on sensitivity to the children is mentioned often as one of the criteria the principal employs in hiring teachers and aides. One of the teachers said:

> I think [the principal] is very careful in selecting and hiring people that he feels will fit in. Most of us are of the same mentality; we enjoy children. We accept them. We want them to do well; whatever it takes to have them do well and feel good about themselves is our utmost concern. I know that when he has a job opening he always puts sensitivity to the needs of the bilingual situation [as a leading criterion]. So, I know he screens there. And maybe that circumvents a lot of problems that would develop later. I know this past year several teachers were placed in this school and he was told that he had to take them. And that's when he didn't feel as on top about the staff, because there were people here that he couldn't screen for sensitivity.

One observer caught well the qualities of teachers the principal favors:

> I notice that he does select from younger teachers, I think mostly because he's a seasoned administrator who knows that a young teacher is going to be gung-ho and she's going to be putting out her every effort. I think he looks for a sensitivity. He wants to detect a charisma in his teachers. He really believes that what happens in the interpersonal relationship between a teacher and a student is really, really important. I think he puts that over, far over, the skill that perhaps the teacher may have at the time because he has no doubts about his ability to train and teach that teacher to teach. He also wants talented people; he utilizes his resources to the utmost. He wants artistic people. Look at all the beautiful people here that are musically inclined, artistically inclined, who are excellent teachers who have such a gentle way with children.

Planning and organization make the successful teacher.

Provided with teachers possessing the personal qualities just enumerated, (and even some who don't) the principal moves to inculcate certain attitudes in these people which will give form and substance to their instructional efforts. At the heart of his labors to develop the kind of instructional program he wants is his belief that students at Highland Way School can best achieve and be successful when the teacher operates with planned and ordered activity. The stress is placed on all three of these words. A quality that pervades his attitude seems to be the desire for order. Order includes organization, orderliness, neatness, promptness, control and discipline, and that which informs these characteristics: planning.

Planning and organization are two wrods the researchers heard a great deal in conversations with the principal, teachers, aides and parents, and saw in the principal's writings. For one teacher,

> The one thing that I've learned more than anything is to be more organized. I've always been told I'm an organized person, but I've really hit it here. Planning your lessons to your children's needs. Diagnosing what the children need. Just a total organization to my teaching skills.

The reseachers were left with the definite impression that unless the teacher learns to plan and organize her or his instructional program to a high degree she or he will not be able to survive the work load expected at Highland Way. In the eyes of the teachers, the demands of the school's program are such that in the beginning weeks and years of teaching they are forced to develop planning and organizing skills in order to avoid "going under." As the researchers see the relation between the two, planning provides the superstructure whereby the elements of instruction can be related to the school's goals and to one another, while organization assures that those elements are in place and ready to be activated. The qualities of ordered expression (orderliness, neatness, attractiveness, promptness, control and discipline, among others) that the principal so emphasizes, seem to be aimed at ensuring that not only do the planned activities go off with minimum interference but that they be accomplished with a greater degree of quality than is usual.

Two very visible expressions of the order desired at Highland Way, room environment and discipline, deserve to be singled out because they receive so much attention from the principal, and as a result, from the teachers. Room environment, and in particular, bulletin boards, prominently reflect, the principal feels, the quality of the school program. Thus, he prescribed that bulletin boards be changed often, that they be artistically attractive, that they reflect the children's work, that they teach the children, and that they, along with the whole room environment, be child not teacher, oriented. There appears to be another reason for this emphasis, one that goes beyond external expression. Because the demands in this area tend to require a good deal of extra work of the teachers, the time spent on room environment and the results achieved appear to be indicators to the principal of the degree of commitment and amount of work a teacher is willing to give to the program.

There are certain aspects of room environment which the principal ties directly to the maintenance of a classroom atmosphere where discipline and control hold sway: "The way you arrange your furniture and instructional centers is a major key to eliminating discipline problems." Discipline is very important to the principal because, as he says and writes, "Without discipline there can be no teaching." At the beginning of the school year he looks to see that each class is under control, particularly classes where the teacher is new to the school, and stresses that by the first ten days to two weeks he will be able to tell whether there are going to be problems. Needless to say, the elimination of discipline problems is a priority item at Highland Way School, and one which is attended to with vigor.

The principal is concerned that the teacher and the students be actively engaged, whether in the classroom or without. "He wants the kids busy doing something, not just standing around on the playground. He wants people involved with kids, talking." Not just any kind of activity will satisfy the principal. He tends to come down hard on teachers who give students "busy work" or who lack preparation in their own teaching. There are only so many minutes in which the students are in their teachers' charge and he wants to make sure that those minutes are utilized to the fullest.

Other marks of the successful teacher.

For the teacher to use fully those minutes spoken of above requires planning and organization, yes, but it also demands, according to the principal, that the teacher know his or her job and be responsible for it and for other facets of school life that could affect instruction, directly or indirectly. The principal's contention that "a secure teacher is a good teacher" seems to say, "all this won't look so bad once you know your job." The secure teacher, according to the principal, is one who is free, because of her or his competence, to do informed experimenting in the classroom: "Take whatever latitude you need in presenting your curriculum, as long as it is interesting and productive." This does not preclude the principal's "looking over the shoulder" of the teacher on a frequent basis, but he does look for the teachers to initiate ideas as well as actions--"Share in the authority of running a smooth school (don't leave it to George or Georgia)"--that will benefit the program and the school and to set an example for the students. He will then make his judgement on them.

Competency, it appears for the principal, is founded on a good knowledge of what one is and ought to be doing in the classroom and of the tools and resources with which to accomplish the task. His daily visits to each classroom provide the teachers with feedback on their performances and give the principal an opportunity to see where certain resources can be utilized by them. The resource teachers, among others, are at the disposal of the teachers: "Make use of district guides, resource room, teacher textbooks and our resource teachers."

Principal key to a successful school program.

The principal likes to emphasize the major role of the instructional staff in the success of the total school program, but he also acknowledges that the key to any school program is the principal. Furthermore, he is not shy in saying that the key to the program at Highland Way School is himself.

> A lot of people were asking, "How come we had the same thing over there in this little city and it doesn't work?" I said,

> "Because I'm not there." And I meant that in all sincerity without being conceited. "The only way it's going to work is to clone me, put another person in there like that." Because it's really a very emotional thing that's inside of you. And if you don't have it it's going to be rough.

Being the leader of the program is very important to the principal. He says that his attitude toward being a principal is one of the things that district superintendents tell other principals to emulate.

Though the driving force behind his goals for the school comes chiefly from within, and though his style makes him somewhat of a "maverick" among principals, the principal of Highland Way School roots his goals in very traditional concepts and procedures. His main goal, "to make kids succeed," is far from a novel idea in education, and his policy of following the district's curricular goals, rather than substituting his own, is "right out of the book," What appears to be the principal's (and the staff's) orientation is to attempt to "do the ordinary (the traditional) extraordinarily well," and by all means available.

The techniques of leadership.

In order to endeavor to "do the ordinary extraordinarily well" the principal has developed techniques for accomplishing his ends, techniques which the researchers feel come directly from his personal beliefs about what a school should do and how it should accomplish its goals. Among the principal's attitudes-become-techniques, six stand out as particularly significant to the researchers for their effect on the educational program operating at Highland Way School: 1) planning and organization, 2) resourcefulness, 3) communicativeness, 4) maintenance of a high level anxiety, 5) expectation of achievement, and 6) parent involvement.

When the principal first came to Highland Way he felt that a planned organization of student and faculty activities would save the teachers from a great deal of useless and aggravating work, and at the same time provide for a more productive outcome from those activities. A case in point is the organized games, the structure and effect of which is recounted by a teacher:

> This is highly organized play [before school, recesses, lunch] for the students and there is a certain amount of regimentation to it. But then there are less straggling students or students who get into trouble. Some students didn't like the games but the games rotate so that a

> student is not stuck in a game for any great length of time. Also, a large part of this is student supervised. Students are the game managers, the officials, and so the teacher does not really have to do a lot. Another appealing factor of the organized games is that it really requires much less time of the teachers than it did under the old system of monitoring recess where kids were doing everything in the way of play.

While eliminating needless work for the teachers was the object of the principal's organizing efforts, he also claims another motive.

> I knew from the philosophy I had on how to run a school that people will accept you if you save them time, save them work. So I said, "Yard duty is the biggest pain there is. Teachers hate it with a passion. I'm going to change it." Teachers were pulling yard duty--I'm not kidding--like every hour. Life was a continuous yard duty. So I change it where a teacher only pulled yard duty every eight weeks maybe. They couldn't believe it. Boy, did they love that.

If the principal was trying to gain time for the teachers out of their work day, it appears that it was only so that he could fill it up with something he felt to be more important. Involvement of the instructional aides and volunteer parents in the classroom was one of those important items when the Title VII program came along. And the reason given most often by teachers for the success the school has had in utilizing extra personnel in the classroom has been as a result of the principal's insistence on thorough planning. If one knows what she or he will be doing in the classroom that day or that week, so the thinking goes, it will be that much easier to share that task with another person or persons. One teacher brought out the felt need for planning in the course of recalling the early days of Title VII: "It was hard adjusting to working with another adult because I wasn't organized." Thus, many of the difficulties the principal sees teachers having could, it seems to him, be handled with better organization of the teacher's time. "I've told teachers, 'I love people working all the time, but if you have to spend so much time doing it, then something's wrong. You're not managing your time correctly.'"

The principal encourages his staff to use all the resources at their command to help them do a good job of teaching, but it is the attitude of resourcefulness, particularly on the part of the principal, that the researchers noticed most. Mention has already been made of the principal's taking on the Title VII program and going after other federal programs to provide support for his goals. Other goals called for other resources. Soon after coming to Highland Way, the principal turned the school into a training school for student teachers from a local university, one purpose of which was to identify and solicit people that he wanted to see teaching at Highland Way School. He has taken on any program that he feels will benefit the children, the staff or the parents, and even though these resources place an added burden of work on himself and the staff, the latter have usually accepted that burden as being for their own benefit as well as for that of the students and the school. Thus, besides Title VII. the principal has brought in E.S.E.A Title I as well as state supported programs.

In addition to program resourcefulness, the principal and staff make use of outside individuals and organizations to help them better understand themselves and their jobs or to help them do the job better. Professionals in education, as well as lay people, are encouraged and invited to visit Highland Way to view the program and make comments. Educators, from whom the principal and staff feel they can learn something valuable, are invited to give workshops, such as a recent one on assertive discipline. Research, like the present study, is welcomed at the school for the insights it can give into the workings of the school and its individuals.

During the period of the Title VII project, when the school was officially both a model and a demonstration bilingual school, observers from other schools in the district and from other school districts frequently visited the school. Though Highland Way no longer enjoys that official status, it has an established reputation and still attracts people from other schools and districts to its campus to view its bilingual program. Highland Way was also, year after year, a demonstration school for bilingual ecuation conferences taking place in their area of California. Being a demonstration and model school not only aided the staff in the performance of their jobs, but also provided a forum for the school to "show off" and invigorate itself.

Resourcefulness takes place at Highland Way not only through the infusion of outside program or individual resources, but also through the management of the resources within the school program itself. For instance:

> The principal considers first grade the critical year and he wants as much help as he can in first grade. So, being that the kindergarten teachers finish at 12:15, he has us working in the first grade classrooms every afternoon to help their reading

> program, which makes it more individualized for them, because there are no aides in the afternoon.

The utilization of the resource teachers, as another instance, is constantly being re-examined to see if some other arrangement of their time and skills would serve the school better.

Some of the manipulation of resources by the principal at times bends or breaks school law, such as the use of instructional aides to supervise classes while the teachers plan together or have inservice, or the rules of the teacher-district contract, such as keeping the teachers at school for inservice beyond the official school day, or leans heavily upon the teachers' personal time and energy. Where the teachers are involved directly there appears to be a good deal of acceptance of the principal's "squeezing the last drop" out of them because they generally feel it really is for the benefit of the children and themselves and because they see the principal putting so much of himself into the efforts. However, they will strongly resist when the demands seem overdone. This resistance the principal appears to rely upon to strike a balance between getting the optimum out of his people and going overboard and ruining the whole spirit of cooperation.

Parent involvement, about which more will be said below, is considered by the principal an invaluable resource to the school. He had sought that resource from the beginning of his tenure at Highland Way, but with the Title VII program parent involvement was accelerated and has continued to grow.

> You can always trust the principal to know exactly where everything has to be and what's expected of you and that sort of thing. And it's easy to work for a person that way because there's never any doubt in your mind as to what you need to do.

Thus an observer remarks upon a very prominent aspect of the attitude of communicativeness that the principal exhibits: letting the staff know exactly how he feels about them and the job they are doing. This kind of communication is frequent and can be uncomplimentary. There is, however, an equally frequent yet positive attitude of communication from the principal, one that is imitated repeatedly by the staff: the sharing of experience, knowledge and ideas.

> The communication between staff members is a daily thing, on-going, and everybody knows, I feel from what I can see, what the other classes are doing. Just the fact that we don't have to have a lot of formal staff meetings because . . . everybody's contributing.

Such an attitude was very obvious to the researchers, who observed on several occasions the principal asking teachers who had been to workshops what they had brought away with them or passing on to them inforamtion or ideas from an article he had just read or a workshop he had attended. Among the staff the researchers heard a great deal of talk about teaching, the students and the work of the school. This took place primarily in the faculty room and the resource room, where teachers, aides and parents comfortably shared experiences and ideas with one another.

Communicativeness as an attitude manifests itself in another way at Highland Way School, one which the reseachers feel is very important to the principal's regard for what he is doing at and with the school. *He wants to tell the world just what is happening at Highland Way School*. He tells the staff by letting them know how well he feels they are doing in relation to the goals he has for the school. He communicates to the parents verbally and in writing what his goals are, what he will do with their children and how they can help. The principal has co-authored a book about his experiences in education, particularly about Highland Way. He tells his teachers, "You should sell your profession," and pushes them to get as many parents as possible to come to Back-to-School-Night and Open House. Much of the motivation for having the school become a model and demonstration school appears to have come from the principal's desire to have the school known as such a school. But the deeper motive behind the desire for exposure and communication seems to be *to let as many people as possible know* that these particular children, in this community, through the work of himself and his staff, are achieving. And it is not enough for him that they achieve and succeed in anonymity because he sees (as do others) a disparaging image of these children and their culture being furthered, consciously or unconsciously, in American society.

For him, such an image can only be adequately refuted by *constant visible evidence to the contrary*. He believes Highland Way School offers that evidence and he wants it seen at all times.

"I jack myself up and I'm in constant anxiety. I keep my anxiety level kind of high and I transmit that to my teachers." So speaks the principal about one of the most pervasive attitudes at the school. Questioned as to whether this near-constant state of anxiety and accompanying high teacher turnover might be unhealthy for the faculty, the principal responded:

> To me, what they're saying would seem to be the truth, but here it's just the opposite. In most schools that I have known nothing ever happens; the same everything.

> It's a big blah. I can't function that way. To me, when it gets stale I jazz it up and I'll create havoc or raise the anxiety level because I can't do this in a stagnant atmosphere. Would I like for my staff to remain static, the same people come back every year? I don't think so. However, sometimes it did hurt me because some of the people I cared for the most were the ones who used to leave. Yes, some left because they couldn't stand me. Some left because they couldn't stand the pressure. But to me that's healthy. I don't want a dud to come next year who doesn't want to work here. If you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen; that's the way I feel. So, to me, this is healthy, invigorating, something new all the time, fresh approach every year. To me they're wrong. They can have those deadwood schools; I see too many of them.

Contained in the above are several apparent reasons why the principal fosters a high anxiety level at the school. First, too much of what he sees wrong in education is contained in the "static" school situation. Secondly, he personally cannot seem to function in what he considers an inactive atmosphere. Thirdly, he has an intolerance of what he judges to be mediocre teaching and tends to act strongly against it: "I don't want a dud to come next year..." This last attitude seems to account for a good deal of the principal's anxiety-producing behavior. A district resource teacher noted, "He will not put up with mediocrity; it's got to be top-notch every minute for those kids, for his teachers. He knows too, the better the teachers are and the more he is demanding of them the more they're going to demand of the kids." Translated into an activity, this attitude takes form in the exacting critiques of the teachers by the principal stemming from his frequent presence in their classrooms. As the superintendent for curriculum and instruction notes.

> He knows what is good teaching, number one, and he knows what are its components. He knows what reading is, he knows what language is, and he can go in a classroom and look to see what is going on. And he says, "This is wrong, this is wrong, this is wrong, and this is wrong and I want you to fix it now." And they'll do it. And he goes in when they're reading and says, "So and so wasn't listening, and I want you to be sure the next time that they're listening." That's the kind of

> stuff he sees. And he makes good teachers. But you've got to be able to take that.

Thus, the pressure is on the teachers to "perform or leave." As observers have remarked, "Either you become a good teacher, as he sees a good teacher, or he'll make life miserable enough that you leave."

The researchers asked a teacher if the amount of work expected of the teachers was greater at Highland Way than at her previous school. "Oh, definitely more. But then our standards are higher, the level of excellence of the school, the district even, is higher. He has high expectations. I remember one bulletin that he sent out that had a whole blurb on 'students don't fail, the teachers fail them.'" Expectations for achievement and success is an attitude which the principal directs at everyone connected with the school, but in particular it is focused on the students. As the researchers observed, when parents of children new to the school are being met at the school for the first time, the principal is particularly anxious to set down for them what Highland Way School will be like. He tells them that their children will learn and everyone will expect them to achieve. The children will receive praise, but the principal believes that it is the expectation of achievement that will bring about achievement.

The principal and the staff endeavor to give the students as broad and rich an education as their resources allow, as is witnessed by the bilingual and bicultural enrichment provided the school through Title VII and the continuing bilingual program, and through the artistic enrichment provided by teachers who are sometimes chosen because they have those skills. However, "[W]e believe that being able to read and and compute is the 'name of the game' and although we teach every aspect of our curriculum, a very strong emphasis is given to Reading and Math" (writer's emphasis). And this emphasis has an historical basis for the principal.

> Supremely confident of what I was doing, I started out my first several years to make my children feel good about themselves. "I don't give a damn about test scores, whether the kids are in the 10th or in the 90th percentile. I want them to enjoy coming to school." I succeeded. There was a complete turnabout and change in the students of the school.
>
> Then about this time the local newspaper started to publish the yearly state test scores. [Highland Way] School nearly fell off the bottom of the page. But for some reason it still did not penetrate my mind that test scores were important....

> Then one day it came to me via the "grapevine" that one of the assistant superintendents was making pointed remarks, to the effect that "if everything is so great at [Highland Way], why do all the students score so near the absolute bottom of the annual test scale?" This hurt me, but was a blessing in disguise. From that year on, which happened to coincide with the beginning of bilingual education in my school, my incessant cry from the classroom rooftops was, "Teachers, kids, you will *achieve*. You will score *very* well in the test. The picnic is over. It may be *a gritos y sombrerazos* (with the help of my shouting and swatting you on the seat of the pants) but you *will* achieve." And they did (Nicholl and Gomez, pp. 189-191).

Achievement and scoring "very well in the test" are closely tied together for the principal. He feels strongly that he must prepare the students for the state exams because that is what people look for each year and he would be remiss in his job if he did not try to get the highest scores possible for those children. Such an attitude appears to be quite in line with the principal's posture of executing to the highest the basic standards that have been established for educating the students. Test scores have become one of those standards, and though he recognizes that teaching *to* the tests, that is, adapting one's teaching so as to elicit knowledge of the subject in a form most compatible with the testing format (not to be confused with "teaching the test," whereby actual test items and their answers are taught and memorized by the students), tends to draw time away from a more well-rounded approach to a subject, his desire to do a good job according to the standards by which the students will be judged seems to take precedence.

Besides attempting a solid academic program, there are and have been a number of learning incentives aimed at the students by the principal and teachers of Highland Way School. (Those techniques and incentives proper to the Title VII program will be treated under discussion of that program.) For instance, there is a reading and math awards program through which students who read and comprehend (they are examined on this) certain numbers of books (in English or in Spanish) and/or who accurately compute at certain speeds receive awards at special reading and math awards assemblies during the year. Although the program is only a couple years old it is widely accepted and participated in by the students. Awards for certain levels of attainment range from jackets to tee shirts to badges and the assemblies provide a forum for recognition and praise from the whole school for student academic achievement. The principal is so pleased by the progress made through the program that he recently spent the latest two issues of his newsletter to parents listing the awardees and praising them. He has also opened the program to parents of kindergarten and first grade students by giving those parents awards for the numbers of books read to their children.

The reading and math incentive program is only the latest in a series of various efforts by the principal and staff to involve the students in their school subjects, particularly reading and math. During the last school year the "classics" of reading for school children of generations past were introduced to the students of Highland Way by the teachers and the principal. At the time McDonalds Hamburgers was selling copies of these "classics" for 29 cents and the principal encouraged parents to purchase these for their children.

> I don't like to push junk food, but these little books are easily worth a dollar or more. Get a bunch! Also with Christmas just around the corner, how about giving that child of yours a novel by Charles Dickens, Luisa May Alcott or James Fenimore Cooper.

From teachers' reports, the "classics" were found to be very interesting by the students, including the lower and average readers, numbers of whom wanted to forego recess in order to read them. The Reading Is FUNdamental (RIF) Program, where students are able to receive books of their own, has also been a successful program at Highland Way School.

There are few efforts at Highland Way School approached with more vigor by the principal than that of involving the parents in the school. The reasons for soliciting this involvement are brought out well in the following statement by a district resource teacher:

> I don't think this school could run without community involvement. I really believe that. Well, [the principal] could run anything, but he really needs an entourage. I think it lends support to what he's trying to do and I think the more people that [the principal] has around that can be supporting what he's doing, then the more strength there is, the more believable this whole thing is. Look at the way he talked to those parents the other day; he told them, "Listen, we do our part, your part is this." And he really believes that we can't do our part unless the parents absolutely know what it is that they have to do to get that kid ready to come here. And I

> don't think he could have the success with the children that he does if he didn't have those parents caring and being involved and following up.

As has been previously mentioned, the principal needs to know that there are people who support what he is doing at the school. He has found a great deal of that support where he feels he needs it, from the parents of his students. There is also the advertising and credibility value to the school program of numbers of supporting parents. But, to the researchers, the main reason is the last mentioned: children whose parents can functionally prepare them for school and support them in the schooling process are children with an immense advantage towards succeeding at school. As the principal writes:

> One of the things that parents want the most for their children is for their grades to improve. And, one of the best ways for parents to help their children earn better grades in school is for you, the parent, to be completely aware of their educational progress... [P]arents should make an effort to keep tabs on their children's activities in school, their attitudes about school and their academic progress.
>
> Children almost always do better in school when they know that their parents believe school is important and are willing to take the time to be helpful and encouraging.

He goes on to give practical suggestions "on how parents can evaluate their children's education in a beneficial way." by means of projecting a concerned attitude towards the child's learning and by requiring specific things of the child.

Personal contact with the parents, especially by the child's teacher, is very important to the principal and staff. Therefore, the parents' presence at conferences, Back-to-School-Nights and Open Houses are strongly sought. In fact, for several years, one of the two annual parent conferences was held by the teacher and aide at the home of each student. At these face-to-face meetings teachers can help the parent by suggesting specific activities and attitudes that would benefit his or her child. If the principal can get the parent to come to the school as a volunteer in her (it has always been the mother) child's classroom, then he has a parent who will receive training in how to approach her child and his or her education. One parent commented:

> When I get home, I'm a lousy teacher. I don't know how to present anything to children. I remember trying to teach them their ABC's and getting them to cry. Now through the school I've learned to teach my own children.

The parent involvement sought by the principal is that which is supportive of the child, not that which gives direction to the school. One observer of the school accurately caught this type of involvement:

> I think the parent involvement relates to how the parent can support the kid in his schooling, rather than how the parent can assist the school. So, [the principal's] push is to train parents on what they can do with the kid in the home to help that kid learn better, rather than to have the parents come to the school to say what they think should be in the school's reading program. He involves them in the classrooms; he has them working at the school, and I think that his intent here is not only a bit a slave labor but for them to understand how their kids learn and how they can help their kids. Which is another secret of the success of the school.

It is the professional staff, either at the district or school levels, who make the educational decisions for the school. These decisions are then conveyed to the parents through vehicles such as the several parent advisory councils at the school, composed of parents, teachers, aides and the principal, and through bulletins to the parents. Advisory council meetings, as witnessed by the researchers, appear to be utilized more as mechanisms to inform and educate the parents, than as forums whereby parents give advisory input into how the school should be run. That is not to say that parents do not give suggestions to the principal and staff regarding the operation of the school. Those suggestions, however, do not seem to surface as formal parent initiatives to the direction of the instructional program. Thus, the image of the principal as director of the school program remains intact.

The staff and the school atmosphere.

Discussion of the "constant" characteristics of Highland Way School's program has so far largely centered on the principal as the driving force, an important impression to convey. It is equally important to indicate the character of the teachers and the role they play in the program (and in a later section, that of the aides), because the team of principal and teachers is highly interdependent in the accomplishment of their tasks. In the following excerpt from an interview that interdependence is brought out by a teacher responding to the question, "What are the strengths of the school?"

> There are several things. The cohesiveness of the staff is real important. The communication between staff members is a daily thing, on-going, and everybody knows, from what I can see, what the other classes are doing. Just the fact that we don't have to have a lot of formal staff meetings because everybody's contributing. Their willingness to work extra hard is a strength on everybody's part. Definitely the principal; I mean he's the dynamic force behind everybody, keeps everybody hopping. People get things done when they're supposed to be done. If we say we're going to do this then people get right to it and do it; everybody kind of shares the load. And probably the reputation that it has is kind of a perpetuating thing, you want to keep that going.

It is interesting to note that the characteristic strengths attributed to the school, and particularly to the teachers, are those also attributed to the principal.

Through this interdependent activity the principal and the teachers establish the school atmosphere, that dominant emotional effect produced by the school. The aides and the parents also participate in creating this atmosphere, but at root it is the principal-teachers interaction that sets the tone. Thus, the manner in which the teachers respond to the principal's leadership style and content rounds out the "constant" characteristics of Highland Way School.

The one most notable characteristic of the school atmosphere is that it appears that everyone is basically in accord with what he/she is doing; that is to say, the teachers agree with the direction the principal has set for the school and work to accomplish those goals. This is the unity, the cohesiveness, to which teachers and others refer; the feeling that they are all working for the same thing and that they are helping one another to accomplish it.

There is a very warm and friendly atmosphere at Highland Way School. Besides noticing it themselves, the researchers heard about it from others, in particular from parents and from teachers new to the school: "Even upper grade teachers came down and introduced themselves, and showed me how to use the resource room. It was a warm reception; I never felt out of it." Again, the researchers were told how the atmosphere resembled that of a family. For the teachers, that sense seems to come from the unity of purpose they share and the mutual help given to one another. For the aides and the parents there is an added dimension in that "family" connotes an absence of "class" separation among the several groups of people at the school: administrators, teachers, aides and parents. It gives rise to the phrase heard a number of times: "No one is better than anybody else; we are all the same."

Highland Way School is an open school. Both the attitude and atmosphere of the school is one of welcome to the community, whether that community be the geographical school-community or the community of educators and those interested in education. Neither the adults nor the children of the school are threatened by the appearance of visitors to the school or to the classrooms. Classroom visitors are a fact of life at Highland Way and though they are one source of the "anxiety" among staff at the school, it is as one observer noted: "The children weren't distracted at all by the visitors and were very well behaved. The teachers had total control and the children knew exactly what was expected of them."

The high anxiety level among the staff was spoken of extensively by those at the school and among interviewed district-level personnel. This appears to the researchers to be a multifaceted phenomenon, two major aspects of which are brought out in the following excerpt from an interview with a teacher.

> Things always seem to be in a changing state here, but there's something that does stay the same, and that's the teacher energy level that I see, that I enjoy, that I support. The anxiety level is always high. There are always things to be ready for, another deadline. It's mostly positive, it's not this negative anxiety that I hear from [teachers at other schools].

Here there is mention of the "teacher energy level" (intimated to be high), and a "high anxiety level," mostly positive, but also hinted at as being negative at times.

The atmosphere of the school is also referred to as "pressured." In fact, Highland Way School is reputed to have one of the highest teacher turnover rates among the district's elementary schools.

> Many people can't stay there very long. They just cannot put up with the pressure. You take a look, a lot of the oldtimers let the water roll of their backs. But some of them, they stay maybe four, five, six years and then they go. And they're very good teachers, they just can't take the pressure (District Administrator).

Though data at the district level were not available relative to this question, a rough determination from school records of the past ten years was made which showed that during that period the mean average of teachers new to the school each Fall was 30 percent of the yearly teaching staff (the same as the percentage that left the school at the end of the year). Primary (K-3) grade level teachers have had, by this reckoning, a significantly higher turnover rate (39%) compared to that of the upper (4-6) grade level teachers (21%).

The researchers wondered if such a turnover rate was a sign of an underlying unhealthy situation among the staff at the school, a "fly in the ointment" of the Highland Way reputation. They received basically the same response from the teachers as they did from the principal: the school atmosphere works very well for those who can stand the pressure. Though their feelings towards the pressure were ambivalent, the interviewed teachers appeared to regard it, and the accompanying anxiety, as something that went with the job. If one could work in that kind of atmosphere (they felt they could) then that was the place to be because it was the kind of stimulating environment where one could really learn to teach and accomplish something for kids.

> I still like the stability here even though it's anxious. I still like the energy level I see here even though it sometimes gets out of whack with certain people, or things all of a sudden seem black for a while. Because things get intense. It's sort of a joke among ourselves, "the [Highland Way] crises;" like he thrives on it. But then I visit other schools or I go to open house where my children go, and say, "Maybe it's worth it." I shouldn't say "maybe;" I know it is. Yeah, it's a working situation. Good chemistry. We're proud of it (Teacher).

If one could not take that kind of pressure then one should leave because he or she could only be miserable remaining at Highland Way.

Whereas there seemingly is a high turnover rate among Highland Way teachers, (half the teachers have been there under two years) it is interesting to note that four of the teachers, as well as the school secretary, have longer service at the school than the principal, while two other teachers have been there almost as long as he has. These teachers are among the most highly regarded at the school and do not seem, either to the principal or to the other teachers, to have fallen prey to the malady claimed to beset the situation where there is always "...the same principal, the same teachers, [teaching] the same grades...," which is actually the situation with these particular personnel. Thus, the principal, along with these veteran teachers (one third of the faculty) and the school secretary, constitute a stable core of key personnel in a continually changing setting.

By virtue of his own personal style, which, as observed by the researchers, is aggressively questioning and demanding, the principal creates an atmosphere where there is the feeling of a near-constant requirement to account for oneself. The pressure is particularly felt by teachers new to the school who have to learn a new way of doing things.

> At the beginning of the year there was a lot more pressure. Everything needed to be done: bulletin boards, reading groups, dual rotation for reading, dual rotation for math, dual rotation for language. It was kind of overwhelming (Teacher).

Further, because of mechanisms largely created by the principal, such as the aforementioned turning of Highland Way School into a demonstration school, the anxiety level is raised as teachers contemplate being on display.

There may be a good deal of pressure and anxiety at Highland Way School, but for many teachers this does not outweigh the things they feel make the school a good workplace.

> It's got to be one of the easiest schools in this district to work in. I don't care how many hours you spend planning lessons or doing follow-up or doing record keeping kinds of things--having your act together--it has got to be less of a problem to work in a place like this than it is to walk out of your class and have kids that have no respect for any teacher. Or to have a wild situation somewhere and you're the old bag for saying anything. Or to have parents complaining about what a teacher is doing. Our parents like us; I mean they come and they think we're doing a job. That's an easy place to work. And our kids--we've laughed about it--our kids get in trouble for sharing their jello at lunch. In another school who'd notice whether they were doing that, there are so much bigger problems. And I always knew what was expected of me, I never had to guess. I've gotten myself in hot water with parents before with my discipline and so on and I have never not been supported by that man; he has always backed me up.

The teachers see the many characteristics of the school and of the principal as highly supportive of their job as instructors. In particular they note the consistency of the principal, his personal involvement in maintaining strict discipline and his intermediary role with the parents. For his part, the principal sees himself as providing a good deal of security for the teachers through those same characteristics. Hence, the teachers feel that they are not only pressured to teach well by the principal and by the atmosphere he and they have established, but that they are freed to teach well at the same time. A competitive spirit develops among the teachers, trying to better their last performance or trying to come up with something that nobody has done yet or trying to please the principal. There's always a tension between the positive and negative effects of such an atmosphere, but those who dwell on the negative effects do not do their dwelling at Highland Way School.

In the eyes of the researchers, the major factor contributing to the staff's estimate of the energy and anxiety at Highland Way School as being considerably more positive than negative is their decided sense of accomplishment and the resulting sense of pride which they have in themselves and their school. An observer at the district level saw this pride emerging out of the Title VII program.

> The greatest thing that was happening at that school, I thought, was the pride; the cultural pride, and the pride in everybody in the school, the teachers and the aides, trickling down to the students; tremendous pride in themselves and in their school. And the principal instilled that. The kids did well not only because they had pride in themselves, but because people expected them to and they lived up to the expectations.

Much of that pride is borne in the reputation that Highland Way has acquired for itself within and without the district. There is even something of a "superiority complex" about the staff as they compare themselves to staff of other schools, especially in the amount of work they see themselves having put into their teaching, in the successes they have achieved with their students, and in the cooperative spirit they have developed at the school among teachers, the principal, aides, parents and students. Thus, it is not surprising that the staff take pride in having others see their school. As the school secretary noted, "The faculty does like to bring their friends and family; they like to show off their school."

One of the things these visitors to the school notice, as did the researchers, is that everyone who works in a classroom--teacher, aide or volunteer parent--is involved in the instructional process. There is no place for baby sitting on the part of teachers or cleaning sinks as major work for aides or parents. Everyone is expected to teach commensurate with her or his responsibility and/or skill, and these latter tend to enlarge the longer the people remain in the classroom. One result of such attention to instructional matters comes out in the lunchroom and around the school, where talk among teachers, aides and parents is dominated by what is, has been and should be done for the children in the way of activities and instruction.

When one looks at how the students regard Highland Way School, probably the most marked attitude is their genuine affection for their teachers. Parents have commented that the children address their teachers by their names, "Miss So-and-So," and Mr. So-and-So," rather than the more prevalent "Miss" or "Sir" of many other schools. The children are not afraid to show affection to their teachers and often physically do this, especially the children of the lower grades. It is also a school where the children themselves feel that the teachers have a genuine love for them. One little boy who was leaving the school recently mentioned to his teacher, "You know, I want to come back because this is the first school that I have attended that the teachers like us." There is an added significance for the researchers in statements like the preceding because this was a Mexican boy speaking about teachers who are more often than not Anglos.

That this spirit of mutual affection is an abiding characteristic of the school can be attested to by students who have graduated and now regard the school as a second home, a place to which they can always return, a place that has a family spirit. Some former students consider the Highland Way School experience the best one of their schooling lives, where the education was good and they learned. They felt that the teachers showed a special interest in them, did extra things for them and rewarded them for their efforts. They see that children, especially exceptional ones, are showcased and they are proud of it.

To the students of Highland Way the principal is the stern father and they regard him with a mixture of fear and respect. They know what the limits are beyond which they cannot go and they appear to appreciate the principal enforcing those limits. They seem to sense through all of his rules and threats and paddlings that he genuinely cares about them and thus they are anxious to please him, to let him know what they are doing. Because of this respect and feeling of belonging to a family they would not encourage anyone to do something bad against the school, which might in part account for the small amount of vandalism inflicted upon the school.

The interplay between the principal and the teachers of the school is probably the most significant element of the school atmosphere. The researchers find that individual relationships between the principal and each teacher, when taken together, form a synthesis of styles and personalities, one that is held together mainly by the power and personality of the principal and one which works for the children of that school. The drive of the principal to have the students succeed and the receptive desire of the teachers to participate in achieving that goal constitutes the basis for the sympathy between the two. This sympathy extends to agreement on a good number of particular intellectual and behavioral attitudes, a probable result of the principal's manner of selecting staff.

Yet, there are differences between the principal and the teachers in basic personal orientation and in style of operation that surface and call for resolution. One way the teachers relate to an attitude of the principal that seems unreasonable or goes against their grain is to suppress their own feelings and, so to speak, "go along with the program." As one staff member put it: "There were and are some that don't really like what he does but they don't try to buck him too much. They just kind of go along with the tide."

"Go[ing] along with the tide" also takes the more active form of "pleasing the principal," a motive that seems extensive among Highland Way's teachers. The researchers tie this motive to an apparent reluctance on the part of teachers at times to question the work load or pressure put upon themselves because they feel the principal is doing as much or more than they for the school. The consequences that sometimes ensue in attempting to please the principal is reflected upon by one of the veteran teachers.

> Whether people admit it or not--I know it's true for me--you try to please him. And then you all of a sudden realize, "What am I doing that for?" That's not the right reason." But as a person who came here green I wanted to learn the way... I think I've seen it happen to others, that you try to please him so much that it sometimes runs itself into the ground. Then you have to know what you think is right, and if you can, remove yourself from it enough to say, "Well, he still had these good effects on me; I'm thankful for that."

Sometimes the teachers do not accept the principal's behavior or attitude towards themselves as right or fair and tell him so.

> I can remember when he first came and I was thrilled to have somebody very outspoken. But one morning he came in here and he just yelled at the top of his lungs. And it just scared me, because I had never had anything like that happen to me before in my life. And after he was gone I thought, "Why me, in front of class and stuff?" And so I just walked in there afterwards--I was mad--and I said it wasn't fair and stuff like this. He kind of sat back and he just listened and then he apologized. Every once in a while he'll do it, he'll forget, but you just have to come right back at him again because if you take it I think he'll run you down. I don't think he appreciates anybody like that.

Another response of the teachers is to see the principal's demands as ideals they wish for themselves or expressions of a work ethic in line with what they consider their own tendencies.

> I feel good about myself because I know I'm giving my children the best that they can have. But even though I know I'm giving them the best, I'm always thinking, "Oh, I've got to do this or that," or I'm worried about this or that. Sometimes you think, "Well, I'm not really appreciated enough for what the parents see," for everything you're putting in. But it seems that if you're here now and a couple years later you're at some other school, you'd do the same thing. I wouldn't change. I hate coming every weekend in the Fall, but then I know I'd be the same if I went somewhere else. It's kind of instilled in me. In my other district I was the only one who went in on the weekend and I was kind of put down for hard work and I felt uncomfortable.

Thus, the interplay between the teachers and the principal appears to result in a synthesis that is largely a balance of tension among several forces which the parties bring to the relationships. This balance is continually challenged by individuals and by circumstances. Sometimes one or other of these gains dominance and the balance is momentarily broken, as when the principal raises the anxiety level to where some teachers are seen to be unnecessarily crushed by the load, or, as with the end of the Title VII program, the loss of the aides resulted in a temporary, but evident, demoralization of the principal.

In an atmosphere that appears to be so dominated by one personality it might be thought that the teachers would resemble puppets continually controlled by and docile to the principal. But, as can be seen from the foregoing discussion, and as further gathered by the researchers, the faculty members are, in their own ways, as strong as the principal. In many ways they are very much like him. This was particularly impressive to the principal's co-biographer, who commented in several places on the similarity between the principal and the teachers at Highland Way.

> I think one thing that characterizes most of the people that have been influenced by him is the sense of urgency. He's a nervous person; he's constantly got to be moving around. If you meet the people that have been influenced by him, it's people that have more of this drive to perform, to excel, to "let's get something going."
>
> Some of [the teachers] are as strong as he is and able to cope with him. There are a few who are extremely docile and just kind of bow their heads and go. But I think the majority of them are strong personalities. The majority of them are people who also have very definite ideas and they agree with--not necessarily all down the line--the direction he's taking and are willing to follow him because they know he's working harder than they are and he's not demanding anything unreasonable, just that they give their absolute best every single day.
>
> His personality is a direct kind of thing [and] the teachers there are fairly direct. In talking with them you find that they come at you straight on and have no hesitation about telling you what they feel. I think that's a reflection of the kind of atmosphere he has. Now, he's hard to deal with, but they can tell him off, they sometimes get into big arguments with him. It's a direct communication; doesn't have to go indirect.
>
> I interviewed most of the teachers and found they're from all over the country, from all sorts of ethnic backgrounds, but the similarity is that they have come, many of them, the same route as these children right now are going through. They've come up from very poor

> backgrounds, poverty, from broken families, from ethnic groups that were not accepted, and they feel, "Hey, I want these kids to have it different." And this is the way [the principal] is. He came through a rough background, through all sorts of struggles and he sees these kids as his children.
>
> [The teachers] are similar to him in their approach to children. [The principal] is somewhat of a missionary-minded person, one who is very involved in the lives of the children. The teachers are also similarly minded. The similarity is the kind of personality where they look at the children the way that [the principal] looks at them; they're thinking in terms of "These kids have to make it in society and if I don't give them something they're going to be out and down at the bottom of the heap." So, they feel a deep responsibility to lift these kids out.

Staff development.

Staff development activities during the Title VII years at Highland Way School were extensive. However, staff development is very much an extension and continuation of the basic teaching mode established at the school and already described in various places in this report. In response to the question, "What are the ways in which you learn to become a good teacher?" one teacher brought out the manner in which the several aspects of teacher development come together in the school:

> First of all, from the direction of the principal, his organization of curriculum, of standards, of procedures, everything. It's written out; it's talked to us; we're constantly reminded this is the way we do it and that we have to do better at this, get those kids reading... [He uses] a lot of personal stories, inservices and conferences--we're always going to conferences. We're always having brainstorming sessions or inservices on new techniques or old techniques, just sharing with the other teachers here that are considered good teachers. That alone, seeing what they do and working with them --you learn a lot.

These activities and others, such as the frequent observation of the classrooms by visitors, are "constant" elements of teacher development at Highland Way.

At the heart of the stable elements of staff development are the daily class visitiations by the principal and the activities that flow from those visitations. For this reason the principal must be considered the chief staff developer at the school. As a result of those visitations he will tell the teachers and aides what he sees happening in the classroom, tell them how teaching might be done better, if necessary, and even show them himself or have others show them what he considers a better way of instructing. The principal also likes to send less experienced teachers and aides to watch more experienced staff perform their lessons.

Mention was made previously of the sharing of leadership functions between the principal and the resource teachers. This is particularly true in the area of staff development and particularly true with regard to the development of teachers new to the school. When teachers begin their work at Highland Way they are subjected to a veritable barrage of observations by the principal and the resource teachers. "He observes all of them all of the time and he told me from the very beginning the one who he knew needed the most help." The resource teachers then develop a program of bringing the new teacher into line with the standard of practice at the school and work with that teacher in a concentrated manner for as long as they and the principal feel it necessary.

Another significant aspect of staff development at Highland Way is the relatedness of inservice activity to the needs and development of classroom instruction. Most inservice sessions, as well as other staff development activities, grow out of what is perceived by the principal and/or the teachers and aides as being important to the productive functioning of classroom instruction. Thus, the researchers feel this may be why they did not hear much of inservice being a waste of time or unrelated to what teachers needed to have in order to do a better job in the classroom. In fact, when an inservice session sometimes went over the working day as designated in the teacher contract, the staff attitude appeared to be that expressed by one teacher:

> It's sort of an understood thing. If we're having an inservice it's for us to benefit. We're supposed to be out at three and sometimes our inservices last until three-thirty or something. If people have to leave, he understands, but there's a general feeling, "Well, this is for us. He's had this person come in to give us an inservice for us to benefit.

The manner of parent/community participation.

Parent/community response to the principal's efforts to involve them in the affairs of the school began to come into its own with the Title VII program and the employment of parents as bilingual instructional aides. It was then that Mexican Americans became involved in the school in a significant way. and in significant numbers. There had always been parent involvement through the PTA, but few of the Hispanic parents had participated, even as they were becoming the majority at the school.

Key to the high level of parent/community participation and one of the "constant" factors at Highland Way is the feeling on the part of parents and others in the community that they are accepted at the school.

> I think the people here are very friendly; they make you feel wanted. I feel when I walk into a room that they want me to be there. It's not like, "Here comes Mrs. [James]--what's she doing here again today?" It's not that kind of thing.

Certainly, that acceptance is felt in a special way by the Spanish-speaking population among the parents and community residents, as was observed by the researchers and as was told to them on several occasions by parents. Acceptance of the Spanish language appears to be critical to the participation of Hispanics in the school, and at Highland Way, since the first years of the bilingual program, there has been an extensive and lively use of Spanish alongside the more dominant use of English. Though the bilingual program at Highland Way is not as extensive as it once was, the use of Spanish with the parents has increased due to the greater number of Spanish-only speaking families coming into the school attendance area in recent years. Thus, the acceptance of parents who speak only Spanish is more noticeable as is their active participation in the activities of the school.

Acceptance extends also to the skills and contributions that the parents and others of the community have to offer the school. One of the aides described how some of the parents are brought into the schooling process:

> We bring parents in and let them observe. We let them take a little group to work with, let them help us in the classroom and bring them in little by little. Pretty soon we have quite a turnout of parents. They feel comfortable that they can do something. We give them a paper to do with the children and they find that they can help.

As a result of being accepted at the school and being made to feel useful, the parents and community people are very "high" on their school. In particular, they have great respect and admiration for the principal and teachers. In a group interview with several parents, grandparents and other community people the researchers heard many complimentary remarks about the teachers, centering about what they consider the high quality of their ideas, their room environments and their activity, the amount of hard work they do and their pleasant personalities--"They get the best teachers; not one of them is stuck-up or mean." The parents attribute the excellence of their teachers to the good sense they feel the principal has for picking people who fit with the others like a family. As for the principal himself, the parents and community people recognize that "he is the one who makes it all happen," and their support and allegiance to him and the school is very solid. In the words of a district administrator: "In terms of community support for that place, boy, you can't get it any better."

It is the active participation of its parents and the community, however, that distinguishes Highland Way School in the minds of its observers. The researchers saw parent/community participation in the classrooms and in special programs as volunteers, in attendance at school functions for parents and/or students, through involvement on the several parent advisory committees and in the almost ceaseless preparations for various events at the school, such as the annual Cinco de Mayo (Fifth of May) celebration. What impressed the researchers was both the significant numbers of parents and community members participating and the degree of the involvement of many of these people. This was judged through the researchers' experience with numerous other schools of their experience and through the comments and comparisons of others knowledgeable of the school district.

Thus, there is a constant parent presence at Highland Way which is as much a part of the school ambiance as are the staff and the students. Parent/community participation in the life of the school has been compared by some parents to that typical of many Catholic schools, which frequently require extensive parent involvement to supplement basic financial resources. At Highland Way, parents remark that there is that kind of spirit of doing for the school even where it is not necessary for survival, a tribute, they feel, to the enthusiasm the parents have for their school.

The "Changing" Characteristics of Highland Way School's Bilingual Program: The Title VII and Post-Title VII Programs

Introduction

Though characterized in this report as the "changing" element of the bilingual program and as a highly opportune and enabling tool to aid in accomplishing goals already planned for the school, the Title VII program has left a deep impression on its character. What the Title VII program did more than anything, in the eyes of the researchers, was to provide a structure wherein an atmosphere of cultural parity and participation could occur between the "Anglo" and the Mexican American. It did this chiefly by officially recognizing Spanish as a language for instruction in the classroom, which, in its turn, substantially "legitimized" the people for whom that language was primary. The principal only gradually recognized the import of this, but notes what a liberating experience it was for himself:

> Bilingual education was introduced the third year after I was made principal. At the beginning three-fourths of my parents were opposed; and the speaking of Spanish on the campus was a genuine novelty. Everyone, myself included, was reticent. If we caught ourselves using much Spanish, we would pull back. But gradually something awakened within me. "Incredible!" I said out loud one day in amazement. "Now they actually want us to speak our language." By "they" I meant American society in general. For the previous forty years of my life I had been conditioned by that society to suppress the tongue my mother taught me. "And now they're telling me that this is the way to fly. Incredible!" I felt elated.... I could now go out on the playground and converse with a child in Spanish, and no one would accuse me of being a foreigner trying to sabotage the United States. It was intoxicating (Nicholl and Gomez, pp. 185-186).

As the principal went, so went the school, and the children and parents for whom Spanish was the more familiar and comfortable language began to feel more accepted at Highland Way. Yet, the use of Spanish as an official medium of instruction did not automatically ensure that Spanish and the Chicano people would be received in the manner that many have come to admire. As noted previously, the principal was, and is, very sensitive to disparaging remarks and attitudes directed towards Spanish and Chicanos. Thus, when he saw anything that looked like a "put down" of either he would communicate his displeasure quickly and frequently in blunt terms.

However, the outstanding factor in inculcating a sensitivity to the Spanish language and the Mexican American culture appears to have been the presence of the Title VII bilingual aides in the classrooms of the mostly non-Hispanic teachers. These mothers from the school community, having gained the respect of the teachers as technically able instructors in the classroom, presented a positive image of a competent Mexican American para-professional not only to the teachers, but to the students and other parents as well. Thus, based on a more personal understanding provided by the aides, the teachers tended to acquire the kinds of attitudes towards the children that allowed for expectations of achievement.

This section on the Title VII and post-Title VII bilingual programs will explore the above features of the program as well as others to assess the impact of bilingual education upon student learning, instructional delivery and parent/community participation at Highland Way School. It begins with an implementation history, followed by discussions of several of the key aspects of the program.

Implementation history. When monies were made available by the Federal Government to schools in 1968 through Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the San Jacinto School District (SJSD) was one of the first in the nation to apply for these funds. As required for their Title VII proposal, the District identified nine educational needs relative to the Mexican American student and his/her community:

> 1)...a need for meeting the learning abilities of students for whom English is an obstacle in education. 2)...a need for revising presentation of content in a classroom to meet the needs of students who can learn well in Spanish. 3) ...a need among Mexican American students that adults of their race and language abilities with whom they can identify be in their schools. 4) ...a need among the students of Mexican American descent for an educational program that does not alienate or disaffect them but with which they can identify. 5)...an obligation (and,

> therefore, a need) for educational context and methodology to affect the culture and traditions of the Mexican American child and his/her family 6)...a need to alter the classroom situation to one where growth and learning is fostered. 7)...a need for the school to create or foster a close relationship between a community and its programs. 8)...a need for an immediate supply of personnel (para-professional) with Spanish language capabilities. 9)...a need for presentations in a curriculum of Mexican American language arts, culture, customs which will broaden the appreciation and understanding of the English speaking child for the great contributions Mexican Americans have made to the history of the Southwest.

In its Title VII proposal the District sought to respond to these identified needs with a program designed to meet three objectives:

> 1) to provide children with the opportunities for concept development, instruction, communication, and socialization through the introduction of bilingual, bicultural instruction into their classrooms. 2) to afford dignifying employment to elicit the involvement of bilingual, bicultural members of the school attendance areas and a meaningful contribution to the education enterprise as instructional aides with their language skills and cultural contribution of real value. 3) to provide opportunities for Mexican American high school students to find employment which requires their continuance in high school and presents a meaningful frame of reference for the use of their academic and cultural contributions.

The efforts of the District were aimed at bringing about "an enhancement of self-image for the minority students, a cultural enrichment for those not of the minority, and a sense of cooperative contribution to the social order." Participation in the program was voluntarily solicited from those schools with high Hispanic population, among which was Highland Way School.

Five District elementary schools and one Catholic school within the District boundaries initiated the Title VII program for the SJSD in 1969 with funding targeted for five years. The District Director for Curriculum, author of the program and its first director, received assistance from the District's only credentialed bilingual teacher. This teacher later became the Title VII Director for the District and subsequently the Director of Bilingual Education. Hired also for the program were thirty women from the participating school attendance areas to serve as bilingual instructional aides.

The SJSD Title VII plan at the beginning was to implement a program in which each participating school would choose its bilingual aides from within the school attendance area, in accord with a Federal requirement. Because there were not enough bilingual teachers available upon which to construct a program, the aides would become the Spanish-speaking component of the program and would be teamed with monolingual English-speaking teachers. Besides the residence requirement, the chief criteria for selection of aides for the program was that they desire to work with children and possess a cooperative spirit. Aides were then installed in selected classrooms of the participating schools in grades kindergarten through third and inserviced by District bilingual staff, by a professor from a local state university and by the participating school staffs.

Program beinnings at Highland Way School. Although the principal admits that he and others in the program knew almost nothing about bilingual education prior to Title VII, ground was being laid at the school for what was to come. A teacher recalls:

> The first two years I worked there we'd have sort of sensitivity awareness classes with a lot of teachers from this school and about seven other schools. I found out the plan was being unfolded, that we were going to get the Title VII grant.

An even more profound conditioning for change was the principal's English class for Spanish-speaking mothers, begun soon after he came to the school.

> ...I began to ask [the mothers] why they didn't participate more in their school. The reason was obvious: the school was still majority Anglo, and they couldn't speak English. "That's no problem," I told them. "Come Wednesday evenings and I'll teach you." As the classes progressed and I got to know them better, these mothers and I began to talk about other things besides the English language. Their greatest concern was, of

> course, their families. I told them they had to stop being slaves (Nicholl and Gomez, p. 217).
>
> I was teaching philosophy, cultural awareness, history and everything. How to get along with their husbands and how to stand up to their husbands. One day out of the week they could live in a different world and did they tell me things. Most of it had to do with the shackles of the house. They had never been out of the house. No one had ever thought they were human beings, just a person to have babies and cook and this kind of a deal. And here I'm expounding all these things.

Several of the first aides at Highland Way came from this class.

Though unprepared technically for biilingual education, the principal nevertheless felt that in himself Highland Way had an advantage over other schools in the District.

> The only thing we had going for us that was different from other schools is that I knew the language and, of course, I liked what was happening because it was my language and my people that were affected. When bilingual education came in I just felt that this was the Mexican American bit; now I could really sell it and be proud of my own ethnic group.

Another advantage the principal felt he had was that the aides he hired were people that he knew admired and respected him. Thus, he believes, one source of problems was averted. The principal anticipated that the problems would come from the teachers, so the teachers he selected to organize the school's first bilingual classrooms were those he thought to be the most "liberal," that is those who seemed to be most sensitive to innovation and to the Mexican American culture.

In keeping with his previous manner of introducing changes to the school, the principal did not ask the teachers if they wanted the Title VII program at the school; he told them that it would be a part of the curriculum. Although he appears to have been sensitive to certain particulars of participation by certain teachers, he did not tolerate resistance to the program as a whole. The teachers either had to accept it or they began to look for another place to teach.

In September of 1969, Highland Way began bilingual education with four teachers and four aides chosen by the principal, one team at each grade level, kindergarten through third. The model used for teaching bilingually called for the teacher to teach a directed lesson in English and for the aide to teach that same directed lesson again in Spanish. Three groups of students rotated between the teacher, the aide and assigned seat work for any given lesson. At first it was difficult for the teachers to manage another adult in the classroom:

> I can remember me, not being able to speak Spanish, not really knowing how to go about [a bilingual classroom], and to have an extra person coming into the room depending on me to help plan things. But the thing that I think was really hard for me at first was to share the class with another person. I felt kind of selfish, and at times jealous of the kids depending on the other person a lot. That's where we had to do a lot of planning together.

At first the aides were very unsure of themselves. They did not know exactly what was expected of them and were very fearful of doing almost anything, as is evident in an excerpt from a speech the principal gave before the School Board in 1973:

> How vividly I can recall when our aides came to us frightened, shy and somewhat insecure. And how well I can remember when I or any teacher couldn't even get them to take a rest-room break. And getting them to take time for a cup of coffee during recess really took some doing. How well I remember the feelings they must have had when they had to face children for the first time. Their timidity in seeking guidance from their teacher and not knowing how to ask for it.

But changes started to take place, the principal recalled:

> From these crude, but warm nostalgic beginnings I have seen our aides grow in confidence and poise. I've seen our aides take to teaching like a duck takes to water. And, as many of the visitors to our bilingual program have remarked, it often is difficult to tell who is the teacher and who is the aide.

As the aides grew in competence and confidence the attachment between themselves and the teachers grew stronger.

As one teacher noted, in the beginning the teachers accepted the aides primarily because they were told to, but as time went on they accepted the aides for themselves and became very dependent upon them for the conduct of the classroom under the program. The principal noticed some slight changes in the attitude of the other teachers:

> ...[A]s the other teachers began to see that bilingual education would actually make their work easier, they became more favorable. Nevertheless, they were not in favor of the program as such, but liked it because I gave a classroom aide to each participating teacher.

As the program developed at Highland Way, the teacher and the aide became an instructional team, and this professional relationship seems to have been the nucleus about which a somewhat bilingual and bicultural relationship of sharing and understanding began to be built. It was expected that the teachers, out of their own learning and experience, would be teaching the aides, but it also happened that the aides began to teach the teachers. One of those areas was that of language. As the principal remarked in his 1973 speech before the Board,

> It has been a delight to see our aides teaching our teachers Spanish and our teachers teaching our aides English and teaching techniques. This was beautifully exemplified during our Open House Night, when some of our Spanish speaking parents were literally rendered speechless upon being greeted so graciously and warmly in their own language by our teachers in the bilingual program.

Thus, as has been attested to by several of the veteran teachers at Highland Way, the aides were accepted at the school with a comparative minimum of friction, an outlook, in the judgment of the researchers, that has continued to the present.

This feeling of being a team, of being two teachers in the classroom, also appears to have created an atmosphere that has prevaded the school ever since: that at Highland Way "everyone is equal." Technically and legally everyone is not equal and all at the school know this. In the classroom, the teacher is legally in charge. It is the teacher who has the burden of planning, of organizing and of being responsible for each child's progress. As the principal puts it: "Ultimately the teachers answer to me. The aides can be forgiven. My teachers are my educational leaders." The students, too, know that the teacher is "better"--

according to the way they talk about those things--know that he or she is richer, lives in a better house, drives a better car, speaks better English (sometimes brutally brought to an aide's attention by students), and is in the classroom longer during the day.

Yet, after all this is said, it remains that there is a sense of equality between the two that is so substantial as to have students rarely call the aide an aide, but to refer to her as the "Spanish teacher" and the teacher as the "English teacher." This sense of equality has extended to social relations at the school, not only between teachers and aides, but among teachers, aides and parents, evidence everywhere on campus, but especially in the staff lunchroom.

The sense of equality at Highland Way School has its basis in the widely acknowledged teaching excellence of many of the aides. The principal, teachers, aides and parents, as well as District level personnel frequently spoke of some of the aides' instructional skills as being equal or superior to those of a number of the teachers. In the former bilingual director's opinion, except for obvious ethnic and racial differences, one could not distinguish the teacher from the aide in the majority of classrooms at Highland Way once the program had been in place a few years.

In spite of this, there has been a great difference in pay. How have the aides reconciled a felt equality of performance with inequality of remuneration? Fundamentally, the researchers found, the aides have accepted their position as aides to the teacher regardless of the proficiency they have attained in relation to some of the teachers. Their rationale has been that the teachers had credentials and they did not. Nonetheless, there have been some complaints and griping about certain teachers who were perceived as doing less than their aides. However, if the complaints have come too long and loud they probably have been met with a fundamental retort: "Why don't you go to college and get your piece of paper?"

Other factors have militated against aide complaints of unequal treatment. For one, they have not had the same responsibility that the teachers have had. And, according to the principal, teachers and aides, some aides have not wanted that burden of responsibility. They see that these aides have enjoyed their work, have done it well, even to training teachers new to Highland Way in the school's methods of doing things, but have either not sought to increase their involvement or have not been able to make the extensive sacrifices needed to push on for that "piece of paper."

Before the Title VII program ever began, some teachers observed that some of their Spanish surname students almost certainly came from homes in which Spanish was the primary language. Yet, they observed, they heard very little, if any, Spanish coming from the lips of these students. Attempts to evoke the use of Spanish from these students met with almost universal failure. Even after the Title VII program had begun there remained a good deal of reluctance on the part of students to speak Spanish, presumably because it had not been permitted before. The principal decided then, that it would have to be his responsibility primarily, to create an atmosphere at the school in which Spanish would be accepted and where two languages would be the rule.

> I brought it up with the aides. "We've got to first make the children feel comfortable and good about speaking Spanish. How is it going to be done? By you, the aides, speaking Spanish. Speak with the teacher even though your teacher doesn't understand; speak with the children. If they speak to you in English keep it up in Spanish until they start responding."

Although this took some doing at first, the aides and the principal eventually began to get the children to speak in Spanish. Once the gates were opened, so to speak, free use of Spanish was evidenced in the school. As the resistance to Spanish being spoken declined, there appeared to be more Spanish speaking parents coming around. The whole atmosphere of the school began to change. The school secretary recalls the differences she noticed:

> All of a sudden there were many more people here. Where we had had one person in the classroom, we suddenly had two and that was when we started hearing a lot of Spanish being spoken. In the past you didn't hear that. There were many people who could speak Spanish but they didn't. But then all of a sudden with all the aides there was a lot of Spanish in here, everywhere!

As more money became available the principal brought more bilingual aides into the school and more teachers into the program. By the 1971-1972 school year, Highland Way School had a total bilingual program. One reason for the availability of more money for the school lay in the apparent failure of some of the District's other Title VII schools to maintain their programs or to really put them into operation. For instance, of the six Title VII schools originally funded, only two had bilingual programs at the end of the first round of funding. Rather than forfeit the money, the researchers were told, the District broadly interpreted a phrase in the Title VII regulations which spoke about the program "serving all the children" to extend it to all the children at the schools that wanted it. Highland Way School wanted it. Thus, although the numbers of Limited-English Speaking (LES) and Non-English Speaking (NES) students was not sufficient at Highland Way to justify a totally bilingual program under the Title VII formula for participation, the District was able to keep much of its funding intact, to keep the Title VII program alive and launch a model bilingual school.

The Title VII program flourished at Highland Way also because the teachers saw the added value to themselves and to the students of having another instructor in the classroom. Though the first years of getting the aides "up to speed" had been difficult, the efforts were bearing fruit in confident, competent para-professional women who were sought rather than tolerated at the school. It showed in the aides' physical appearance and attitude and was attractive to both the teachers and to the parents. Aides also became not only major consumers of bilingual and bicultural materials at Highland Way but major producers of these materials as well. This period in the Title VII program, about five years after its inception, is the time the principal refers to as the "golden years of bilingual education" at Highland Way School. These were the years when the student test scores started to go up and the program and the school began to acquire a reputation both as an achieving school and as a model bilingual school.

It was also the time when another of the aides' roles began to show significant signs of success: that of bridge between the parents and the school. Through their own competence and acceptability at the school the aides became models to many Chicano and Mexican women who previously had believed that people like themselves had no part in their childrens' school. Even more, the aides actively solicited these mothers, their neighbors, to assist in the classrooms or at other school functions. This promotion substantially augmented the principal's own efforts at bringing parents into greater school participation.

Bilingual conferences began to be held at Highland Way School as the Title VII program neared its midpoint. The classrooms were used as demonstrations of model bilingual classrooms for people in and out of the District. In a loose-leaf scrapbook titled "The [Highland Way] Story," full of clippings, memos and other memorabilia from his tenure at the school, the principal has a number of letters of that time from parents, teachers and administrators attesting to the high quality of instruction at the school. And through this early time the School Board gave its support to the school and its program.

Highland Way School had become a model bilingual school, a showcase school, and much of the District's Title VII resources, seemingly a disproportionate amount, were being funneled into the school. This appears to be largely because, though the District wanted the Title VII program and its monies, it was increasingly difficult to find schools which would accept the program or maintain it for very long. Thus, for a short time it appeared that Highland Way School was just about the total District program. With all this going on it was sensed from early on in the program that there might not be a program the following year, and this attitude continued until the end of Title VII at Highland Way. Thus, petitions to the Board to continue the program (such as the speech noted above) began to become a yearly event on the part of those who supported bilingual education. The principal of Highland Way and many of the parents, along with parents from other areas of the District, appeared at school board meetings to voice their support. On more than one occasion, according to school people, the board room was packed with parents and other people who wanted to see the Title VII program continue.

After five years under the 1969-70 proposal and with a one-year extension to that proposal, a new Title VII proposal was drafted by the District in 1975. There were several things different in the 1975 proposal from those contained in that of 1969, but perhaps the most significant was that under the new proposal it was the bilingual teacher in the classroom who was to become the heart of the program. This was not expected to take place immediately but rather to be accomplished over the period of the newly proposed program.

What did take place immediately was a cut in the bilingual aides' hours from six per day under the previous program to four. With the new emphasis toward acquiring bilingual teachers as its core, the program offset the loss in hours by offering aides a schooling program whereby they could work towards becoming credentialed bilingual teachers. Although the aides at Highland Way took advantage of this new schooling with its stipend, as they had of other educational offerings, they were somewhat demoralized by the loss of hours and felt that their effectiveness, especially in providing enrichment in culture and instruction to the students, was diminished.

The principal, prior to 1975, had begun hiring teachers who were bilingual and continued to do so under the new program. However, the same bilingual instructional model used in the old Title VII program was preserved, especially with the monolingual English-speaking teachers. Here the aides continued to be the core of the bilingual program in the classroom. Where a teacher was bilingual this provided a set of "double-barreled" resources in that all of the students could be understood and responded to by both the teacher and the aide. This resulted in both the teacher and the aide using both Spanish and English on an "as needed" basis, an ecletic approach rather than one where clearly defined instructional usage of the language is pre-programed. Basically, the teacher was the English-speaking model and the aide the Spanish-speaking model, but of course with both of them being bilingual there was a great deal of lack of definition about who was responsible for teaching what. One of the evaluators of the program had to insist that the best English-speaking model teach the English as a Second Language component and the best Spanish-speaking model teach the Spanish as a Second Language (SSL) component.

There was no significant diminution in the quality of education being provided in the classroom. Now, however, the aides were not there for as many hours as they had been previously, and it is almost impossible to measure that loss through achievement testing. Now some of them were going to school and taking classes towards acquiring their bilingual credential, the teachers who were not credentialed were doing the same thing, and those who were credentialed but who wanted to improve their own bilingual proficiency were taking classes. Consequently, there was an upgrading in the techniques and understanding of bilingual education. This paid off especially in meeting the needs of the increasing numbers of non-English speaking (NES) children coming to the school. Whereas previously non-English speakers, limited-English speakers and fluent English speakers alike were introduced to reading in English from the beginning, regardless of their ability to comprehend the language, now the principal was becoming convinced by the district bilingual office, but especially by his own bilingual teachers and aides, that it would be better to begin teaching the limited- and non-English speaking students reading in their own native Spanish.

With the 1975 Title VII program changes, the principal felt that he was losing some of his power over Highland Way's bilingual program to District forces that were not favorable to bilingual education and which wanted to decrease the influence that the Mexican American population was gaining and exercising through a program such as his Consequently, as 1979 and the end of the second Title VII program approached, the principal was adamantly holding to his model, the aide-based bilingual program, hoping by its very success to induce the District to continue to fund the aides beyond Title VII.

Because they had been faced with the question, "Will the program be in operation next year?" so many times, it was not with any special trepidation that they faced the 1979-80 school year. It had happened before and the funds had always come back. But this time they did not come back and when the principal went to the School Board to ask for funding to continue the aides in every classroom in the school he was politely refused. At this point, the emotional bottom momentarily dropped out of the school and particularly out of the principal. Some aides and parents at the school even contemplated a strike action or demonstration, but were counseled against this by others who felt it would be counterproductive to the school and its program. Adding to the difficulty of the transition from a total program school to a partial program was the loss of half the bilingual teachers who were expected to staff the primary grades under the post-Title VII program.

The Bilingual Program at Highland Way School After Title VII.

When Title VII funds came to an end and the School Board did not fund the full complement of aides for the school, the principal felt that he, his program and what they stood for in a community which was predominantly Mexican American was being rejected by the predominantly Anglo School Board largely on ethnic grounds. He was quite bitter about this perceived rejection. This is reflected in a chapter title of his autobiography, completed soon after the end of the Title VII program: "A Gigantic Hammer and Sickle: The Rise and Fall of Bilingual Education, 1969-1979 (Nicholl and Gomez, p. 181).

School opened in September 1979 with a noticeable absence of the former bilingual program personnel; there were no aides at all at Highland Way. Veteran teachers once again were alone with their classes after having had aides for anywhere from five to ten years. Some teachers had never known teaching without an aide. Aides, funded through a State program, had been expected for the primary grades, but a personnel snafu in the District involving aide seniority, among other things, caused their arrival to be spread over a period of several months. Finally, by January of 1980 all the aides the school was to receive had arrived. Under the new funding source, however, aides would only work at the school three hours a day, not four, as under Title VII.

The loss of the bilingual aides at Highland Way was felt not only at the overall program level, but especially at the classroom level, as the loss affected what could be done for the students. An upper grade teacher:

> After all those years of having a bilingual teacher with me, this year I really do miss Olga an awful lot. There are times when I think to myself, "Boy, if only Olga were here, she could be doing this for me."

Interestingly enough, this teacher referred to her former aide as a "bilingual teacher." However, the researchers found this common at Highland Way and indicated to them the close professional relations many of the teachers had developed with their aides. Thus, the principal and bilingual staff felt very fortunate when four of the formerly Title VII aides were able to return to Highland Way.

The bilingual program at Highland Way after Title VII was reduced to a strand: one of the two classes at the kindergarten, first, second, third and fourth grade levels and a fifth and sixth grade combination class. The student population at the lowest in Highland Way's history, was composed of __ percent non-English proficient (NEP) and __ percent limited-English proficient students. This qualified the school for only six bilingual classrooms. Aides who were bilingual were assigned to the bilingual classes in the primary grades, but the English-speaking primary classes received only monolingual English-speaking aides. The aides in the resource room were similarly divided among bilingual and non-bilingual personnel. Although there were two bilingual classes at the upper grade levels, only one had an aide and she was funded through Title I monies. Thus, what the principal had struggled hard to avoid actually occurred: the program was divided into bilingual and non-bilingual strands.

The loss of bilingual aides in the non-bilingual classrooms meant the loss of Spanish instruction in the greater part of the school. It also meant the loss of much of the incidental use of the language, such as on bulletin boards and in student projects. A kindergarten teacher relates her experience of transition by explaining the difference between having and not having a bilingual aide:

> The difference is that I do very little Spanish now. In fact, none, really. In other years we always did a lot of Spanish because we had English-speaking children having Spanish lessons and Spanish-speaking children having English lessons. And the aide was supposed to do a lot of things. She opened class three days a week, mostly in Spanish. She had to work with a group for every lesson. She was supposed to make the math bilingual and she taught Spanish reading, too. All of our classes were really bilingual classes and now I'm not and the other room is. Therefore, we don't teach any Spanish reading; the Spanish responsibility is all with the bilingual teacher. Previously I used my Spanish haltingly, but I did have the Spanish-speaking aide.

For this teacher the bilingual aide under the Title VII program was a substantial instructional figure. She also appears to have been of great support to the teacher's striving to improve her communications with the Spanish-speaking children. When her classroom became a monolingual English-speaking one, the teacher's reliance upon the aide for communication and instruction ceased. However, she also lost a good deal of the incentive and support for pursuing her self-development in the Spanish language and the Hispanic culture, something she had been doing up to the time she was taken out of the bilingual program.

But, what about the Spanish these teachers had learned and used and the bilingual materials they had hung on their bulletin boards and the cultural lessons they had taught during the Title VII years? It seems that besides the loss of the aides and some of the materials the latter had created, the very act of relieving the non-bilingual teachers of responsibility for the program had the effect of telling them that bilingual education, and thus Spanish and the Hispanic culture, was no longer their province. The researchers venture that this may have further undermined what incentive there was for the non-bilingual teachers to continue with past practices in language and culture.

One of the "constant" characteristics of Highland Way School, the heavy academic demands, also appears to have accelerated the dropping of Spanish usage and visible cultural expressions among the non-bilingual teachers. Again, the kindergarten teacher on this subject:

> I'd say time. We have quite a demanding program. In order to get everything in, I find that I've spent quite a lot more time on math because of the math awards [instituted during that year]. Last year I always had my bulletin boards in both languages, but [the principal] said it was optional this year; we could do it if we wanted to, but didn't need to.
>
> (You haven't done that this year, then?)
>
> Oh, I did just for a little while, then I just didn't do it any more because we didn't have to. I liked it all right. I think it's really just a question of time and having quite a lot of demands.

The use of Spanish also declined in school-level activities. This was brought to the attention of the researchers when, during a student assembly in the Spring of the first post-Title VII year, a teacher leading the Pledge of Allegiance caused momentary confusion among students and staff when he began recitation in Spanish after concluding in English. It was apparent that a practice of dual recitation in English and Spanish, presumably of long standing during the Title VII program, had not been followed for some time.

The loss of Title VII made Highland Way more conscious of the District's emphasis on a transitional bilingual program, one that focused on moving children from Spanish usage to English proficiency as quickly as possible. Therefore, even in the bilingual classrooms there was a decrease in the use of Spanish. A bilingual aide in one of these classrooms experienced the following:

> Before, everybody had Spanish at one time during the day or another, and not it's just the Spanish readers. You try to have math in Spanish but you'll just get, "Well, I don't speak Spanish...," while before they just sort of joined in.

What teachers and others reported was that each bilingual teacher was pretty much on her or his own regarding how much Spanish would be used with students who were not NES or LES. And so it has varied from class to class, according tc resource teachers and those who have the opportunity to view several of the bilingual classes.

The demoralization of the principal was such that he referred to the new bilingual program as something less than real. The "real" program was the aide-based one which had prevailed at Highland Way School during the Title VII years. As a result, the principal no longer encouraged visitors to come to the school to observe the program; in fact he discouraged would-be observers, telling them that this was no longer the same program, no longer a model of bilingual education. However, some who had known the school during Title VII would not take the principal's protestations as the last word and prevailed upon him to allow visitors. According to the principal, once he gave in to the insistence of those who wanted to observe the program he felt once again energized to meet the public with the best face that Highland Way could put forward. Those familiar with the Title VII program continued to be impressed by Highland Way's bilingual classes, which somewhat surprised, yet invigorated, the principal. In fact, the bilingual program was singled out for special praise by a state team of educators which evaluated the school later that year.

By the time the researchers had begun gathering data at Highland Way, the principal had largely shaken off his negative reactions (but not his feelings) towards the school board and towards the bilingual program he now had on hand. Though still bitter about the board's refusal to fund bilingual aides for all the classrooms, he had to accept it and so channeled his energies more positively to the work at hand, of which there was plenty. Not only did Highland Way begin that year without aides, but half of its bilingual teachers were new to the school, as were the majority of the aides when they finally did arrive.

Perhaps of most concern to the principal at the beginning of the year was the transfer of teachers to Highland Way from schools in the district that had closed due to declining enrollment. In all his time at Highland Way the principal had never had to accept teachers or aides that he did not want or who did not want to be at that school. Now the district required him to take assigned teachers. Much of the success of the school with the bilingual program, many felt, was attributable to the principal's obtaining young, energetic and maleable teachers who would more readily go along with his kind of program and the amount of work required. Teachers with years of experience in other district schools were not expected by the principal and others to be amenable to his type of program.

To the principal, the transferred teachers, because he could not screen them, threatened the Highland Way spirit, quality of teaching and attitude towards the children of that school community, everything they had built during Title VII. Because of their seniority, the transferees could "bump" the younger teachers that he wanted. However, by the end of the data gathering period, the researchers could not see evidence to support those fears. Through one resignation and one transfer, the three assigned teachers were reduced to one soon after the school year began, thus minimizing their impact. At the beginning of the 1980-81 year two of an additional three scheduled transfers for Highland Way were on board. The principal, having heard several reports that the third assigned teacher was "bad news," prevailed upon certain Highland Way teachers to carry a heavier load of students for a while so as not to have to require that teacher to come to the school.

The arrival of transferred teachers to Highland Way has not had the negative effect anticipated by the principal because, as seen above, he has actively sought to lessen those effects. Moreover, as he admits, "In the main I did not lose my cadre of good teachers." That cadre of teachers has operated for and with him to maintain the "constant" Highland Way approach to instruction and to socialize teachers and aides new to the instructional staff. In fact, what greatly impressed the researchers about the post-Title VII program is what had not, apparently, been lost. The level of achievement, the spirit of the school and the degree of parent and community participation have risen rather than fallen. Student test scores for the 1979-80 school year have been the highest to date. Highland Way School has developed a reputation for hard work, excellence and high participation that students, staff and parents try hard to live up to. Parents, especially Spanish-speaking parents, are now more involved in the school than they ever have been.

There is the perception on the part of the people of Highland Way that, even though Title VII is gone, things have not really changed. Again, the kindergarten teacher:

> I think that all of the main advantages that the Spanish-speaking children received are still in effect. I don't think that's gone downhill. And I think that everybody is very sensitive to the needs of the Spanish-speaking, much more, probably than they used to be, say, twenty years ago.

Thus, there is a strong belief that the major developments brought about by Title VII have continued. Besides the higher test scores, the spirit and the participation, there has been that continuing sensitivity to the backgrounds of the Mexican American, Mexican and other Hispanic children of the school on the part of non-Hispanic teachers. Remaining also has been another attitude built during the Title VII years, that all children can learn, that it is a matter of the teachers getting in and finding out how the child learns best. Through the Title VII program the teachers and aides learned how to teach in groups rather than by taking the whole class at a time; this has become a staple of the Highland Way instructional method.

Although Spanish has decreased as an instructional tool among students and staff since the end of Title VII, it has actually increased, according to the principal and others, between the parents and the Spanish-speaking staff at the school. Responsibility for this seems attributable to an increase in recent years in the number of Spanish-speaking-only families, chiefly from Mexico and Central America, and to the personality and efforts of the school community aide, whose function and achievements were described above. Between the principal and the school-community aide a great deal of Spanish is spoken with parents and community residents, which appears to accomplish at least two things: Spanish and those who speak the language are always seen to be welcome and accepted at the school and, because the principal speaks the language, Spanish is given a status that militates against the demeaning of its use.

As the 1980-81 school year opened at Highland Way there were further changes that had an impact on the bilingual program. The attendance area was enlarged to absorb the effects of a nearby school closing, increasing the student population by three additional classes. The number of bilingual classes did not increase, but the number of NEP and LEP students in those classes did increase. Two bilingual teachers with experience in other districts were hired, as one teacher from the previous year left the area and another was shifted to an added non-bilingual class.

Numerically, the bilingual program at Highland Way is on the increase. However, from what the researchers have seen, it differs from the Title VII program not only in structure, objectives, emphasis and involvement of the school staff, but also in a lessened participatioan by the principal himself. The principal admits that he feels that he has less control over the program than he did under Title VII. Hence, the present program has perhaps more of the stamp of the district upon it than did the Title VII program. Yet, though the school is divided into two programs, it is not a school divided; the principal and the staff and parents from the Title VII era have so far seen to that.

The San Jacinto School District and the Highland Way Bilingual Programs

Granted the critical role of the principal, staff, and community of the school, it is important to remember that it was and still is the San Jacinto School District (SJSD) that has, to a great extent, shaped the programs at the school. It has established the framework within which the principal and staff have been able to do all the things described above. Thus, the district, chiefly through its board of trustees, its superintendents and other district-level administrators, has had a large share in determining the structure and direction of bilingual education both at Highland Way and beyond. As noted above, the principal at Highland Way has at times been at odds with that direction.

As the researchers view the relation between the district and the principal of Highland Way, they see that the latter took the structure and goals of the original Title VII program and built an effective instructional program, regarded both by the district and by many outside the district as a model bilingual program. The district, while acknowledging the exceptional performance of Highland Way's program, and while sharing in that achievement, nonetheless chose to implement a model of bilingual education different from the one which had apparently been successful at Highland Way.

There are two main interpretations of why the district chose the course of action it did, one by the principal of Highland Way and one by the district. These interpretations are presented with the purpose of giving the reader some idea of the forces at play within the district that helped to shape the Highland Way bilingual program.

The principal believes that bilingual education in the SJSD, and particularly at Highland Way School, ended with the termination of the Title VII funds. His explanation for what he calls the "downfall" of bilingual education in the district is colored by his interpretation of the actions and motives of people in the district, from the school board and district administrators to the parents. Nicholl and Gomez extensively articulate the principal's position.

> In June of [1979] the bilingual program came to an end at my school. "Too bad ...," they told me, "but the new federal guidelines require us to give the money only to schools not previously funded. Anyhow, you don't have that many limited-English kids at your school." (I had 100 out of a total of 450!) To try to save my program I requested district funds to at least keep my bilingual aides. I was politely ignored. Thus it was that the nearly three-quarters of a million dollars the district had invested in building up a model bilingual school and in training bilingual aides and teachers, "went down the tubes." ...It was all over. (p. 184)
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> ...
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> To understand how bilingual education rose and then fell in the school district, you have to listen in on the conversations going on behind closed doors between the board of trustees and their top administrators. You hear their two conflicting lines of thought. On the one hand they are saying, "Juanito can't read. Maybe bilingual education--making use of his Spanish in the classroom--would help." On the other hand, they look out the window and the terrifying realization strikes them, "My God! There's getting to be more of them than there are of us." And anything, including bilingual education, that potentially would strengthen the already menacing numerical strength of the Hispanics, must be cut down before it bears fruit. (pp. 186-187)
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> ...
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> To be perfectly honest, all my superintendents (and I had five during the ten years of the bilingual program) were very nice with me in whatever I did. I don't know if they really understood what I was doing, or cared. My impression was that they didn't care

> one way or the other as long as I continued to "do a good job" at my school, that is, taught kids English, had good annual test scores and didn't spring any sudden *tsuanmis* on the district. (p. 188)
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> ...
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> My first and second years' evaluations by the superintendent and assistant superintendents were very glowing. I think they were amazed that I had turned a recalcitrant staff around, stopped hooliganism in the kids and awakened the community to the fact that they could indeed have a good school, if they wanted it. However, I had a feeling then, and now ever more so in retrospect, that some of the top brass were disappointed that I was succeeding. (pp. 188-189)
>
> ...
>
> The years 1972 through 1975 marked the pinnacle of my bilingual program. I looked forward every year to the state bilingual conferences, since I knew we would be inundated with hundreds of visitors. I loved it, in spite of all the work involved. I was being invited as guest speaker everywhere to talk on the virtues of bilingual education. I was smug and confident in all my speeches, because I felt I could put my money where my mouth was. That is, my school proved that, "Yes, it can be done." (p. 190)
>
> ...
>
> People who heard me liked what I had to say... Thus, you can see what a blow it was to me in 1976 when I started hearing rumbles that our new board was not all impressed... [The] previous two boards were more or less supportive. Now, however, the new board could see that "the sleeping giant was awakening from his siesta"--the Mexican Americans were starting to become more and more politically aware. This was especially apparent a number of times when we thought the program was in jeopardy and filled the district's board meeting room to standing room only with brown faces. It didn't go unnoticed that the majority of these faces belonged to the people from the [Highland Way] School neighborhood. (p. 191)

> As school boards and superintendents came and went, I continued doing my own thing. [Highland Way] School and I continued to be very visible to people all over the district. Now, however, I can see that this high visibility was one of the factors that figured in the eventual demise of bilingual education in the district. The board, the superintendent's cabinet and "la Gente Fina" from the [affluent section of the district] didn't at all like what they could plainly see was happening: Hispanics, with [Highland Way] School leading the way, were becoming vocal and were taking roles of leadership in their various neighborhoods. Thus, as more and more Hispanic leaders emerged, the attacks on bilingual education intensified. (p. 192)
>
> ...
>
> The school year 1976-1977 was the beginning of the end of bilingual education. However, it was difficult for me to see it because I was still riding the crest of my success... [One] day I was talking with a fellow principal who also had a bilingual school in our district. "The parents are after my scalp...; and the board president himself has jumped on their bandwagon. ...Three years ago when they put me in as principal of my own school..., I felt that I was being given my just reward for my years of dedication. One of the first things I did was to initiate a bilingual program ... The school seemed perfect: the attendance area took in both middle-class Anglo families and a neighorhood that was mostly blue-collar Mexican Americans. I began by designating all classrooms up through grade three as bilingual. Teachers who did not fit, I got transferred out of the school. My intention was to add a grade a year until I had made the entire school a bilingual school. And so as of this year--the third year of the program--the program extends through grade five. But all hell has broken loose. A handful of Anglo parents went to the board objecting to my forcing their children to be in bilingual classrooms. Unfortunately they are correct. The way the

> law is written, participation is to be voluntary. The number of children who are theirs is very small--maybe twenty, and could easily be transferred to nearby schools. But instead the board is using these parents' opposition as an excuse to dismantle my entire bilingual setup. I am not being forced to have one monolingual English classroom at each grade level, which sounds fair on paper; but the actual result is disastrous. The monolingual classes are turning out to be predominantly Anglo; and the bilingual classes, predominantly Mexican American--segregation has returned, which seems to be the goal of the board. (pp. 203-204)
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> ...
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> "Bilingual education is regressing in the district, to say the least. Their so-called 'new thrust' amounts to a return to the past, and will only result in the same previous, unequal education for Hispanic students. The people at the top are just waiting for state and federal funds to run dry so that they can pull the plug. Their overt philosophy is, 'This is America, speak English!' but behind this slogan is fear... This phobia is primarily of Mexicans who remain Mexican. (p. 204)
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> ...
>
> "As principal I have attempted to groom leaders among the Mexican Americans. This has turned out to be the greatest threat of all. (p. 204)
>
> ...
>
> "[A]ter twenty-five years of hard work and idealism, I have been rejected by the Anglo community of which I am a part. They accuse me of being a traitor and a 'Mexican lover.' And just when I desperately need support from the school board members, they throw me to the lions, while my fellow administrators turn thumbs down on me and walk away."
>
> I listened to my friend impatiently. He wasn't telling me anything I didn't already know. He had got caught with his hands in the cookie jar, that's all: his Anglo parents had managed to get

> hold of the official state guidelines, which very pointedly state, "Parents must voluntarily agree in writing to allow their children into a bilingual program." Hell, I never asked my parents anything either; I just told them what to do and they did it--with little open resistance. My fellow principal, however, was not so lucky... [T]he board declared, as a result of the uproar, that all bilingual schools--including mine--would have to send out a survey asking their parents if they wanted their children in the program... [Highland Way] School ended up with survey results 100 percent in favor, while my friend's school and the other bilingual schools had divided results and thus ended up with the dismantled and segregated situation described above. The school staff became divided also, by an attitude, of "You teach dumb Mexican kids, but I teach the white kids." Not only this, but the bilingual rooms became the dumping ground for discipline problems and slow learners. (p. 205)
>
> All the bilingual schools were forced into this deplorable situation but mine. For three years I managed to continue my program intact,... It was just a matter of time, however; and the board finally got around to me for the 1979-1980 school year. Naturally, they didn't say, "[C]ut out bilingual education." They just cut off the money. (p. 205-206)

We turn now to the district's interpretation. If the words of the assistant superintendent for instruction are any indication of the district's perceptions, an effective district bilingual program did not emerge until the last years of the Title VII program.

> The program as it was formerly planned was a program that we could not continue to sell to the governing board in this district, nor was it a program that was meeting the needs of the district. We have an increasing number of limited- and non-English speakers that we have to address. We didn't have, in all those years, an identified program to meet their needs. We had no program to address the needs of kids who really came here with serious language deficiencies. We had to have something

> which would say, "Here is what we're going to do, and this is the bilingual program of this district. We can in-service--train to it; we can get materials to do it; we can do this and that." And that just came about three or four years ago. Other than that it was hire a teacher and put him to work.

What had been happening at the district level during the other Title VII years? As was indicated in the introduction to the study findings, the district, in the late 1960's, in search of assistance for instructing more adequately a burgeoning Mexican American student population, elected to begin bilingual education with the help of Title VII money. At that time, recalls the district's first bilingual director, the district was behind the program and its orientation to help "the children who were not achieving," not "the children who couldn't speak English." From what the researchers can gather, the board and the administration of the district supported that orientation for the first five or so years. They supported it probably because the concept was new, it deserved time to develop, and there were no serious objections to it. As a board member remembers the program early on, it was going well and was rather "low key."

Opinions differ as to when the board's attitude toward the bilingual program changed. Some, such as the former bilingual director, agree with the principal of Highland Way that board support began to wane when the federal government began requiring district financial efforts to match those of Title VII. Others, including a board member, believe that support began to wane when certain parents who did not want bilingual education for their children found an ally in one of the board members. This precipitated a review of bilingual education that resulted in heated arguments and demonstrations at board meetings. Certainly, the controversy over the state-funded bilingual program at one of the schools has to be seen as the watershed event that changed the board's attitude towards bilingual education.

From 1975 on, remembers a board member, the Title VII program got more notice. This was the year that the district submitted the Title VII proposal that changed the program from an aide-based one to a teacher-based one. The proposal resulted in four more years of funding. With funding secured, the emphasis began to shift from helping underachieving Hispanic children to helping those who couldn't speak English to do so. With regard to the aides, there were arguments from both educators and parents against their use as the base of the bilingual program. The educators felt that the bilingual teacher was better equipped than the aide to be the instructional base of the bilingual classroom and that to give the students less than the best would be to shortchange them, to give them second-class status. Numbers of parents, often through ignorance about the use of aides, thought that the children in the bilingual programs were getting an inferior education. A board member reported some of the arguments:

> With what you pay the aides, couldn't you get one good teacher for two aides? We need people who've had the training." There are a lot of people who don't trust the aides and/or they think the teachers are getting off by having the aides there--the aide runs the classroom. Community people, the ones that talk to me, would rather have teachers than aides. They feel more confident, more secure. Also, when your aides are in your bilingual schools [the parents] say, "Okay, some place else has got teachers' we get people that aren't trained."

The shift in emphasis from a program aimed at helping underachieving Hispanic students to one geared to help limited- and non-English speakers learn English was perhaps the most significant shift in the district's bilingual program. To some, this represented a change from a "maintenance" program to a "transitional" program. However, in the view of the writers, there never seems to have been a truly "maintenance" bilingual program operating in the district. It appears that the use of Spanish, beyond its need strictly as a means of communicating with those who could not adequately communicate in English, was to sustain a bilingual-bicultural milieu, where, besides learning in two languages, students had the opportunity to understand each other's cultures more intimately through a constant interchange in the medium of each one's language. Thus, the change is better seen as a shift from a bilingual-bicultural program to a strictly bilingual program.

The original bilingual-bicultural program was certainly broader and more far-reaching than a bilingual program aimed merely at teaching the English language. It appears also to have been more difficult for the district's top administrators to handle politically. An administrator quoted by Nicholl and Gomez goes directly to this point:

> Up to 1978 there was no definite standard to determine whether the child spoke enough English to leave bilingual education. This is a perfect example of the use of a program for political ends: the people who work in the program want every child with a Hispanic surname to be placed into their hands in perpetuity. Why? Because the more

> students there are, then the more aides, teachers and directors that are necessary--with most of these jobs going to Mexican Americans, naturally. All of which means more power. This is not right. Bilingual education should not be for the purposes of social reform or for the employment of minorities" (p.200).

According to some administrators, the use of the Title VII program to give work to Chicanos, to aid the Mexican American community in ways not directly related to the education of limited- and non-English speaking children and to teach Spanish to English-speaking Chicano and Anglo students in order to develop inter-cultural awareness resulted in the erosion of political support in the greater community.

The response of adminstrators to the political mood described above was to definitively change the bilingual program from what was termed a "social equalization" program to an English-language development program. The goal now was to teach English to limited- and non-English speaking children as soon as possible. According to the Assistant Superintendent for Instruction, this change began to produce program results that the board found satisfactory:

> In the old days the board used to ask the director of the program, "How long will it take to teach kids English?" She could never answer. We told the board last year that we moved 200 kids out of the bilingual program; we taught them English well enough. This year we taught 189 children and the board is happy to see that the program does produce results. And we do produce results. We don't just throw kids out of the program; we move kids out when they are really capable of moving out. But we move them out. It's not a home forever.

Coinciding with the shift in program direction was the departure of the original program director and the hiring of a new one. The reason for the first director's leaving seems to have been her perception that the board and administration were no longer supporting the goals that she espoused. In an interview she said that although the board was always gracious and accepting of her proposals, there was an internal struggle based on philosophical differences and what she felt was a lack of understanding on the board's part of what she was doing. She also felt that Chicano parent visibility and participation at board meetings, of which she was a major promoter, provoked certain "anti-" feelings among Chicanos as well as Anglos. Furthermore, she saw that federal regulations provided support for the "transitional" approach. Perhaps indicative of administration's attitude toward the direction she espoused are the words of a district zone administrator interviewed by Nicholl and Gomez:

> Part of the initial politics of the program was a focus on Mexican culture. But recently we have shifted toward academic development and an English language development. It was difficult to get the first director of the program to accept this new direction. She persisted in viewing the program as 'a little bit of everything for everybody.' That is, she wanted to teach Spanish to Anglos, English to the Mexicans and provide total bicultural immersion for all students. Starting in 1975, we shifted away from this naive, idealistic and smorgasbord approach toward an emphasis on English for those who didn't speak it. By the school year that began in 1978--after a change in directors--the target was made clear to all concerned: 'Teach English!'" (pp. 199-200).

Having lost board support, the first bilingual director sought a change in position and, when the principalship of a bilingual school in another district became available, she took it.

The former director was of much the same mind on the scope and direction of bilingal education as the principal of Highland Way School. They both proposed to use bilingual education both as a vehicle for academic achievement and for the development of a better self-image among the Mexican American and other Hispanic students and their parents. The board's rejection of this approach and the departure of the first bilingual director was a clear signal that the Highland Way model would not be adopted as the district model.

For all the disappointment, the board and administration believe that Highland Way and its principal will not only survive, but will do so quite well. A school board member reflected this view:

> (Was a formal presentation made by the principal to the board for additional funds after Title VII?)
> He let us know, yes, yes indeed.
> (And what was the board response, generally?)
> The response was, "We're going to go for it without and see what happens." You listen to John, but you also know with

> John that he's going to go for it and if he doesn't go for it you'd think something was wrong with him. And then from then on he's still going to have the best program, no matter what. He sucks his thumb and cries a lot without Title VII--and rightfully so--I understand where he's coming from. But with declining enrollment and with all these other things... He is successful now, maybe not as successful and maybe not doing as many things, but he's getting it done.

Others, including staff members and parents of the school look at Highland Way one and two years after the end of Title VII and feel that nothing essentially has changed in the performance of the participation of the Mexican American and other Hispanic children and parents, thus giving a degree of credence to the district's assessment of what would happen after the Title VII cutoff.

The current bilingual program of the SJSD is the most extensive in its history. As stated previously, the district's level of NEP and LEP students has risen dramatically, so that in the 1980-81 school year thirteen of its over thirty schools have some form of bilingual program. Though the Spanish-speaking constitute the largest group of non- and limited-English speakers in the district, there are a number of other languages addressed. Chinese and Korean language students at one schools, for example, are serviced by the only Title VII program operating in the district.

Certainly, much of the incentive for such a program has come from the California state bilingual mandates, in particular the Chacon-Moscone Bilingual-Bicultural Education Act of 1976, otherwise known as Assembly Bill 1329 (AB 1329). The bill mandated that,

> ... [e]ach limited-English-speaking pupil enrolled in the California public school system in kindergarten through grade 12 shall receive instruction in a language understandable to the pupil which recognizes the pupil's primary language and teaches the pupil English (p. 8).

AB 1329 further required that in schools where there were ten or more NES or LES students of the same primary language at the same grade level the school district had the obligation to offer either "partial bilingual instruction," "full bilingual instruction" or "bilingual-bicultural education" (pp. 8-9; pp. 5-6). In conversation, a board member indicated that the district was under obligation to conduct and enlarge its bilingual program:

> We have all of these children out there that need this; we have to do this now. Whether we have the funds or not we have to find some means... Therefore, it is necessary.

From what they have seen, the researchers believe the the district to be going beyond the "letter of the law" in its attempts to meet the needs of NES and LES students within its jurisdiction. District funds were used during Title VII to fund major aspects of the bilingual program and continue to be used in this manner, especially the funding of the district-level bilingual personnel and the bilingual classroom teachers. The district bilingual director believes the district to be ahead of its neighbors in the effort it has made:

> We happen to be the only district I could find that has bilingual classrooms in schools where there are no comp ed (compensatory education) or S.I.P. (School Improvement Program) monies coming in.

Also, the district superintendent for instruction is not waiting to be forced to make program developments by the state but is anticipating those developments and planning for them so as to have all the pieces in place when the mandates are given.

Instructional Organization and Delivery

Program Organization

The role played by the principal of Highland Way School during the Title VII program was that of school site director. As such, the principal coordinated the work of the district bilingual office at the school, complementing and supplementing that work. For instance, under the program guidelines for hiring aides, it was chiefly the principal who selected the women in the school community for those positions. While the bilingual director laid the foundation in training the aides to be instructors in the classroom, it was the teaching staff at the school, under the direction and with the assistance of the principal, that supplemented that training by continual classroom monitoring, by planning sessions between aides and teachers, and by special inservices for both aides and teachers. As director, the principal was also the liaison with both the district office and the school community regarding the program, informing both of the progress of the program at the school.

The role exercised by the district bilingual office, its director and resource personnel, was one of overall planning of the program and of support for the program at the school site, mainly in the form of providing inservice training for the aides and teachers. For the bilingual director, who singlehandedly operated the district office's portion of the program for the first several years, inservice training of the aides meant educating them in an understanding of child growth and development, language skills and curriculum development, and motivation to and reinforcement of learning. Inservicing non-bilingual teachers for service in the program meant training teachers how to use an aide, how to schedule one. It also meant teaching teachers the philosophy of bilingual education and sensitizing them to the culture of the Hispanic students they were teaching.

As the Title VII project developed, the bilingual office was able to give suggestions for organizational and instructional changes in the program, based upon a growing understanding of its needs. Through the results of evaluations and knowledge gained through a more informed understanding of the processes of bilingual education these changes were made.

In the model of bilingual instruction operated at Highland Way, the certificated classroom teacher became the English-speaking model in the classroom. The teacher was the chief source of instructional planning, management and delivery in the classroom. It was the teacher's role to plan the aide's work with her, to monitor the aide and to offer suggestions for improving the latter's skills in classroom instruction and management.

The Spanish/English bilingual instructional aide was the heart of the Highland Way Title VII program. She (there were only female aides in the program) was the Spanish-speaking model, and was the Spanish instructor for the children (unless there was a bilingual teacher). The bilingual aide was most commonly referred to by students at Highland Way as "the Spanish teacher," As the Title VII program developed at the school, the aide became the chief developer of instructional materials in Spanish relating to skills development and to culture.

Although there were no Title VII resource teachers at the school site itself, (this function was handled by the district bilingual director and resource teachers) the school resource specialists funded under Title I and other monies exercised a supportive role by providing both teachers and aides with managerial skills, instructional development, and process monitoring in the English portion of the program and to a limited extent in the Spanish portion.

As mentioned previously, the bilingual school-community aide, modeled after a district-level position, was created at Highland Way during the last years of the Title VII program. The function of this aide has been to be the principal's liaison to the school community and a resource for the parents of the school children in a variety of school and community matters.

Parent participation in the Title VII program at Highland Way was more informal than formal. Formal parent participation took place through membership on the Title VII parent advisory council. Parents participated informally in classroom activities as volunteers whose duties ranged from instructing and tutoring small groups to putting on demonstrations of culture activities.

The organization of Highland Way's bilingual program after Title VII resulted in a major change in the roles of the teacher and the aide.[4] The teacher is now bilingual, is the central bilingual instructor in the classroom and is the bilingual model, not just the English model. The bilingual aide, therefore, is definitely in a supportive role rather than in the co-instructional role she exercised in the Title VII program. Two factors seem to account for the waning of the earlier role. First of all, the use of a bilingual teacher in the class did not lend itself to a two-directed-lessons division of instructional labor as it did when the teacher was monolingual. In fact, the use of the two directed lessons, one in English by the non-bilingual teacher, the other in Spanish by the bilingual aide, had already been altered during the Title VII program in those classes where there was a bilingual teacher. Secondly, turnover among bilingual teachers and aides at Highland Way since Title VII necessitates a re-education of the bilingual staff though such an effort at re-education does not appear to be forthcoming. As a result, in the post-Title VII bilingual program the bilingual aides, while they might be as competent and well-trained as in the Title VII program, are not accorded, organizationally, the same status as in the aide-based program.

The other major organizational change in the post Title VII program, namely its reduction from a total school program to a partial school program, has not changed the internal organization of the bilingual classes as much as it has the non-bilingual classes. Bilingual teachers and aides, inasmuch as they participate in the overall school program, receive the same direction, curriculum and services as do the non-bilingual staff. Inasmuch as they have special needs and resources, the bilingual staff receive additional support, chiefly from the district's bilingual resource teacher to the school. It now appears that Highalnd Way's bilingual program bears both the Highland Way stamp and the district stamp. As the principal has said, the current program is not as much his own as was the Title VII program.

Program Delivery

The subject areas addressed at Highland Way School during the time of Title VII were the basic instructional areas of reading, language arts, mathematics, natural sciences and social sciences. Particular to a bilingual program were the added areas of English-as-a-second-language (ESL) and Spanish-as-a-seond-language (SSL). The subject area objectives used in the bilingual program were those that would have been used in an English-only program. With the exception of the social studies program and its unique objectives for American and Mexican/Mexican American cultures, there were no differences between the subject area objectives for the English language component or for the Spanish language component. The activities utilized in the presentation of the curriculum at Highland Way were essentially those activities of a monolingual English-speaking class: learning centers (a feature of Highland Way School), games, dramatic plays, settings other than the classroom, paired tutoring and others. The Mexican and Mexican American culture lessons involved all of these types of activities. There were also out-of-school visits and various community resources were brought to the school.

Once the program was fully implemented at Highland Way School, both Spanish and English were used daily with all the children at all grade levels. The two languages were used in rotation for each individual subject area. The district bilingual director described the instructional structure:

> The teacher taught all the things that teachers will teach during a regular day: reading, math, language, social studies, science. Like for reading, a group would come to the aide. During that time the aide would teach concepts and vocabulary in Spanish to all children. Whatever lesson the aide had prepared for the day, all the children, as they rotated to her, got that same lesson.

As a rule, all subjects were taught in both Spanish and English. However, even outside of ESL and SSL, which were obviously one-language sessions, there were exceptions to the use of the two languages with every subject, as an upper-grade teacher noted:

> Reading we didn't do bilingually, but in groups in English all the way through. That's what we decided we were going to do, because we didn't have kids that needed, at that point, to be in Spanish reading; they were able to be in English reading. And so the aide would teach a lesson and I would teach a lesson and she had certain duties to do with the reading.

For the most part the students were grouped according to the way the teacher wanted them grouped for the lessons in English and flowed to the aide in that manner. Again, there were exceptions here, quoting once more the upper-grade teacher:

> In language we had our kids grouped according to their Spanish ability. I would teach whatever I was going to in English, and there would always be a group that was independent, and a group that was with the aide. If there were kids that spoke Spanish, they were reading Spanish and doing comprehensive kinds of things, writing poetry in Spanish and having discussions in Spanish and that kind of thing. If they were the group that didn't know Spanish they'd be doing a lot of vocabulary and sentence structure and then practicing getting it out of their mouths.

Instructional materials used in the Title VII program at Highland Way were basically those of the English-language curriculum in Spanish translation. Spanish-language supplemental materials in any subject area were constantly sought and whatever was found to be of value was used, often with modifications. One of the features of the Highland Way program was its aide-produced Spanish-language instructional packets.

> The Spanish packets went with what would be termed the old Santillana reading series. They developed Spanish skills that fit those tests. About four or five years ago the bilingual and special aides knew they didn't have enough support. What they liked in the English reading system were the support packets. They wanted the same thing with their system because they were using centers and support materials. They had some ideas perhaps given to them from the district level, but most of it was developed from out of these people's heads.

The principal encouraged the construction of the Spanish packets not only for Spanish reading but for anything the teachers and aides felt could be of value. As they became available, professionally prepared Spanish-language materials were obtained, particularly for use with the cultural lessons and in the development of a sounder technical vocabulary in various subject areas.

Now, in the post-Title VII bilingual program at Highland Way the subject areas and the subject area objectives remain as in the Title VII program. The types of instructional activities also remain essentially the same, but there is a reduction in number due to the limited funds available to the program. Materials held over from the Title VII program are available to the bilingual staff; however, they are not being utilized nearly to the extent they were under Title VII. The school librarian, the custodian of the Spanish packets, noted that the materials are in the library for staff use but that since Title VII, only the aides and teachers who were in the Title VII program use them to any extent. She also noted that with their hours reduced, the aides do not have the time to develop these as they did during Title VII. Further, the new bilingual aides and teachers, being unfamiliar with these particular materials, would have to be inserviced in their use.

Under the post-Title VII bilingual program students no longer flow officially from the teacher to the aide as from one instructor in English to a co-instructor in Spanish. Other groupings, however, based on academic or language ability, remain much the same as during the Title VII program, and while holding no official capacity as co-instructors, the aides, in keeping with the Highland Way tradidion, share the instruction with the teacher as they always have; they have not been relegated to menial classroom tasks.

Title VII program assessment at Highland Way School was provided externally by evaluators contracted through the school district. Ongoing internal evaluation was routinely provided by the principal, as described by one of the teachers:

> We have our formal evaluation, but definitely ongoing ones. As far as feedback, it could be anywhere. He could see you in the recess room or call you into his office, or in the hallway, and you just discuss whatever he says. He always wants to know how the kids are doing. We have progress reports we have to give to him on how our class is doing; that's his own evaluation system. He has categories and we're supposed to write a narrative and we just go right down the line; for instance, reading: how are the kids doing? where is an area of weakness? who specifically needs help in this area and why? what can we do to help them? do we need more support personnel? do we need more audio-visual? more teamwork? That helps us to focus our thinking, too; you sit down and think, "Where is the class as a whole?" You know in the back of your mind, but it makes you bring it out front.

A similar type of assessment was also provided by the resource teachers, who also lent suggestions and support. In the classroom, regular program monitoring was provided the aides by the teachers inasmuch as the former's knowledge of the Spanish language permitted. The district bilingual program personnel on occasion monitored the aides as a check on how effective the district inservices and support were.

Much has already been said about the character and extent of inservice at Highland Way School, with respect to both the "constant" characteristics of the school and the Title VII program. Suffice it to summarize that the principal, through his constant monitoring of classroom and the staff development activities constructed to service the needs observed in those classes, along with the support of the resource teachers, is at the heart of inservice, an inservice that is integral with the curriculum of the school.

The central aspect of the development of the bilingual aides during the Title VII program have also been described: basic principles of education taught by the district's bilingual director and reinforced by the principal and resource teachers at Highland Way, weekly inservice classes, progress monitoring by the principal, class planning and monitoring by the teachers, college classes for credit towards degree and credential and development through the creation of bilingual materials, to name several.

Teacher development, specific to Title VII, has also been mentioned: inservices in Mexican American and Mexican culture, organizing and planning learning activities with the aides and the development of their own capabilities in the Spanish language, among others.

A particular question, related to staff development during the Title VII program was raised during the researchers' investigation of the academic development of the Title VII aides: With a fine training program and with accredited college courses available and utilized, why did no aide at Highland Way receive her degree and teacher credential during the ten years of the program? Of the aides remaining from the Title VII program two were interviewed. One aide is continuing, slowly but surely, to work towards her degree and credential. She admits she is not putting an allout effort towards this end, however, and one of the resource teachers feel that she periodically needs a push so that she will continue. The other aide interviewed stopped working toward the degree and credential when her hours were cut to three per day and she had to take a second job to help support her family. For her, family comes first in the use of her time and energy and she currently feels that her responsibilities to her family do not leave her sufficient time to undertake college classes.

The principal of Highland Way feels that the cultural attitudes prevalent among many Mexican and Mexican American families, particularly the attitudes of husbands towards the wife's role, make it difficult for the women to conceive of going on to college.

> For the husband to buy this--"You've got to go on to college for the next four years; I'll have to stay home and help you cook and raise the kids"--that's too much. For the majority of these husbands it's just not in their lexicon, their make-up, to follow that sort of thing.

He also feels that it is not in most of the aides' expectations and plans for themselves that they undertake such an endeavor.

> It takes a lot of effort, a lot of energy to do this. I think our aides weren't geared that way--"I'm going to give up four years of my life; I'm going to spend a lot of time away." This long-range planning was not very clear to them and it still isn't. "If I could work like I've been working, six hours a day, and every Tuesday you let me to to college" --they would do it that way. This is why I thought it was so beautiful when we were getting that kind of a program. Ability and all that I think they had.

The resource teacher echoed the thoughts of the principal about the reasons for the aides not obtaining their "piece of paper" and added that the principal might have "sold" their talents and training so highly that it might have been a threat to their pride to admit they needed further education to do the job they were already doing so well. This is tied to the feeling of some outside observers of the school that the kind of motivation necessary to propel the aides to become teachers and leave Highland Way was lacking. The school staff said that the principal encouraged the aides to go to school, but the feeling hangs in the air that: "We've been trained so well here for the job we're doing, which is teaching, where could we go and do better?"

Inservice training specific to the bilingual program since Title VII is almost exclusively performed through the district bilingual office and especially by the bilingual resource teacher at Highland Way School. Bilingual teachers new to the school are oriented to the district's program by the bilingual resource teacher at the beginning of the year and are periodically visited during the year. However, since Title VII, the bilingual resource teacher assigned to Highland Way has had her service load of schools increased so that she is not able to be at the school weekly as she often was during Title VII. Also, when she does come to the school there are other responsibilities, such as the evaluation of students for the program (especially at the beginning of the school year) which occupy a good deal of her time and thus do not allow for as much attention to be given to the inservicing of teachers at the school. Nonetheless, the bilingual teachers receive regular inservice, so much so, according to the principal, that there are some feelings among the non-bilingual teachers that the bilingual teachers are being favored.

In its very structure, the Title VII program introduced the most significant parent involvement in the affairs of Highland Way School that it had ever known. Parents from the school community were not just enlisted to help in the program, they were made partners in the venture of teaching the students bilingually. These bilingual aides, as previously mentioned, became the springboard for a far larger involvement of Mexican American, Mexican and other Latino parents than the school had seen. It was the aide who accompanied the teacher on home visits and communicated with non-English speaking parents and it was the aide who induced parents to participate in the activities of the school:

> There was a time when the parents didn't get involved and we became the bridge. My neighbor or others would say, "How can you be in school if you're a Mexican?" I said, "It is because you are Mexicans and you have your kids there; there's a lot of things that you can do." I, personally, involve a lot of my parents.

The other official involvement prescribed by the Title VII program was the parent advisory council, whose members were chosen from among the parents and the school staff. Leadership skills were developed and nurtured in parents chosen for membership and/or officer positions, especially by the principal, who would meet with officers both before and after meetings to prepare and review the process.

Since the end of Title VII at Highland Way it has become obvious that the program did serve as a springboard towards wider involvement in the school by Mexican American, Mexican and other Latino parents. Even though the school is no longer all bilingual the Spanish-speaking parents are still there and growing in numbers. These parents are welcomed and involved in all the advisory councils and the many other activities of the school, whether they be attached to the bilingual program or not, and meetings are all conducted bilingually. Spanish-speaking parents still volunteer to assist in the bilingual classes, while the bilingual and English-only speaking parents may assist, respectively, in both or in the English-only classes.

Although the current bilingual program does not require that bilingual aides be from the school community, there remains that identification between parents and the instructional aides that serves as an incentive for parents who feel they could contribute something to the school to do so.

STUDY CONCLUSIONS

At one point in this report, the principal of Highland Way School is quoted as saying,

> A lot of people were asking, "How come we had the same thing over there in this little city and it doesn't work?" I said, "Because I'm not there." And I meant that in all sincerity without being conceited. The only way it's going to work is to clone me, put another person in there like that. Because it's really a very emotional thing that's inside of you. And if you don't have it, it's going to be rough.

If this is all that can be said regarding the replicability of the findings of this study, then the study was merely an exercise in triviality. After all, n=1 does not generalize very far unless that "1" relates systematically to an existing body of knowledge and makes some contribution to growth in that body of knowledge. The view of the researchers is that this study does that.

In saying that the study does make a contribution to an existing body of knowledge, there is no wish to deny the unique contributions of individual actors like, for example, the Highland Way principal. On the contrary, his great contributions are affirmed. What we do deny is that he is merely a bundle of idiosyncracy. It is therefore unnecessary to clone him in order to achieve some of the success which has characterized the performance of students at Highland Way School. In what follows, an attempt is made to tie observations made at the school to the literature reviewed earlier in this report (see pp. 2-20). Emphasis is placed on (1) the process of change in schools, (2) staff development in the promotion of change, and (3) the process of change in the institutionalization of bilingual programs.

The Process of Change In Schools

In the review of the literature, a typology of change strategies was developed (see p. 5). In this typology, three approaches to change were identified; (1) the empirical-rational, (2) the normative-re-educative, and (3) the power-coercive. These were crossed with two purposes; (1) implementation and (2) renewal. In the discussion that follows, observations are related to the cells in this matrix.

Generally, the findings indicate that elements of each of the approaches played a part in the changes in the bilingual program that took place over a period of ten years at Highland Way. For example, elements of the Empirical-Rational approach can be seen in the attention which the principal gave to his "experts." At one point he said, "...I've talked to great educators that I respect a lot, and they always tell me I'm on the right track (see p. 30)." Again, he said (see. p 39):

> I have some people who really impress me. For instance, I went to a workshop this summer. There happened to be four people giving this workshop who are just about my idols in education. One of them is X. I worship this woman. She's the most stimulating person that I have ever met. I'll go anywhere to listen to her because I know it's going to be worthwhile. See, I really believe in education, and when people say, "The high schools are no good," or, "The high school principals behave a certain way," it bothers me. Here I say, "Education is so wonderful," and here my colleagues--this principal is making fun of me. So, when I meet these educators I've been talking about, I latch on to what they're saying. It makes me feel that I'm alright. The worst thing is to be left alone and in a vacuum where nothing reinforces you. I have my idols; I have my authors. There's about five or six people, not too many. I think the balance between some of these people and me is such that I think we emphathize. I know Y does, he's one hundred percent for bilingual education, the down-trodden, the minorities and all that. X is just a good gal. Her theme is that all students can be educated, it doesn't matter what grades, black, poor, and don't make excuses about the lousy parents. That's all what I believe in. And when I hear a person talking like that, who doesn't necessarily have to, it makes me feel good.

The researchers can attest to the degree to which the kind of program which the principal installed at the school reflected the concerns and approaches of his "experts." Many of the "constant" characteristics at the school can be explained in terms of what these experts had to say. Whether the function of the experts was to provide the substance of these characteristics or merely to reinforce the principal in doing what he would have done anyway is a moot point.

This is all wrapped up in the issue of why people choose to view one person as "expert" and another as "inexpert." The discussion of this issue lies outside the scope of this report.

A careful examination of the data presented in this report will reveal that the approaches to change at Highland Way involved something more than changes in knowledge, information, and intellectual rationales. Though such changes did occur, there were also changes in attitudes, values, skills, and significant relationships. This indicates that what has been identified as the Normative-Re-educative approach was also operative in the changes that were occurring. The principal is a passionate man. His love and respect for all the children in his school is clear. It may be that this is an important factor in his choice of "experts" since he says that, "I think the balance between some of these people and me is such that I think we empathize. I know Y does, he's one hundred percent for bilingual education, the downtrodden, the minorities and all that. X is just a good gal. Her theme is that all students can be educated, it doesn't matter what grades, black, poor, and don't make excuses about the lousy parents. That's all what I believe in."

Given the commitment to these values, expressed with deep feeling, it is not surprising that other staff members moved in similar directions. Those who did not simply did not survive at the school.

This brings us to the third approach, the Power-Coercive approach. Coercion as a factor in change at Highland Way occurred at four levels. First was the level of law. The researchers believe that bilingual education would never have been initiated at Highland Way School had it not been for the coercive power of Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. While the Board of Education has grown increasingly accepting of bilingual education as its diverse language minority population has grown and as the effectiveness of its bilingual program has been demonstrated, this was not its stance in 1969. Only law could have made the installation of a bilingual program in the San Jacinto School District a reality at that time.

Coercion was also used by the staff and the community in an attempt to get the board to make decisions that would be consistent with the way the community felt the program should be structured. The form of the coercion was that of packing the Board Room at meetings where decisions that the community considered vital were to be made and speaking vociferously on the issues.

Coercion was also used by the board. If the principal and the community had had their way, Highland Way School would probably still have an aide-based program. This was, however, contrary to the wishes of the board and upper levels of administration. The board's exercise of its power in the elimination of the aide-based program and the establishment of a teacher-based program was a bruising event that dismayed the Highland Way School community, sent the principal into temporary depression, and resulted in the departure of the founding project director.

Of course, as has been noted frequently in this report, coercion as a stimulus to change has characterized the behavior of the principal from his first day on the job. He remembers having said at his first staff meeting, "I am the boss--and you had better believe it. Things are going to be done my way and no other. My school is going to become the best school in the District. Or else." He has lived up to his claim. He has been the boss and, until counter-manded by the board on the aide-based program, pretty much had his way in the management of the bilingual program. This should not be interpreted to mean that he usually operates his school in a manner contrary to the board's wishes. He is in no way an organizational maverick. It is his style, not his policies, that is unconventional.

There is one facet of his style that was captured by one of our informants. This person called him "a growly puppy dog." This image correctly portrays him as a person who, in spite of his growl, is both lovable and loving. While no one associated with him will deny his ability to "bite," the people who learn to work with him are those who have come to understand that underlying the "growl" is a heart that genuinely, even passionately, cares about his students, his teachers and staff, and his parents. Within the family, he may discipline harshly but outside the family, he defends all members with great loyalty and firmness. One might hypothesize that his success in actually effecting change through coercion is as much due to his lovingness as it is to his management style. This is suggested by the fact that his staff does not give cowering obedience. As has been suggested already, he has attracted strong, not weak, people to him who willingly and enthusiastically go along with the program.

In summary, then, the researchers believe that elements of all three approaches to change identified in the review of the literature have played a part in the changes that have been documented in this report.

We may now turn to discussion of the findings in terms of the other dimension of the typology of change strategies, namely, the "purposes" dimension. Two purposes were identified, implementation and renewal. Implementation implies that there is a ready-made program ready to install in toto. This might be described as change from outside in. Renewal, in contrast, can be thought of as change from inside out. In the former case, the purposes are typically those of persons outside the organization which are adopted by persons within the organization. In the latter case, the purposes are typically those of persons within the organization.

Was the installation of the bilingual program at Highland Way School an example of implementation or an example of renewal? As in the case of "approaches," so in the case of "purposes," it is impossible to categorize our findings as belonging discretely to one category or the other. Insofar as the Title VII program was formulated outside of Highland Way and installed as given, it must be considered an example of implementation. Insofar as the Title VII program was taken by the school as an opportune tool to further purposes already at work within the school, it must be considered as an example of renewal. In other words, we find here a clear case of the interaction between processes of implementation and processes of renewal. One contribution from "outside" was the emphasis on the use of Spanish on campus. This was received by the principal with surprise and delight.

> Bilingual education was introduced the third year after I was made principal. At the beginning three-fourths of my parents were opposed; and the speaking of Spanish on the campus was a genuine novelty. Everyone, myself included, was reticent. If we caught ourselves using much Spanish, we would pull back. But gradually something awakened within me. "Incredible!" I said out loud one day in amazement. "Now they actually want us to speak our language." By "they" I meant American society in general. For the previous forty years of my life I had been conditioned by that society to suppress the tongue my mother taught me. "And now they're telling me that this is the way to fly. Incredible!" I felt elated.... I could now go out on the playground and converse with a child in Spanish, and no one would accuse me of being a foreigner trying to sabotage the United States. It was intoxicating (Nicholl and Gomez, pp. 185-186).

Other benefits flowed directly to the school as a result of implementing the plan specified in the Title VII funding application.

On the other hand, the Title VII plan was itself a beneficiary of purposes that were already at work within Highland Way School. One of those, the major one, was the achievement of academic excellence. This meshed nicely with the Title VII emphasis on development of cultural pride and positive self-image. Ultimately, the Title VII program became so influenced by the drive toward academic excellence that that drive was taken up into the plan itself.

One could find many examples of such interaction between purposes and program formulated outside the school and installed as part of the school program (implementation) and purposes formulated within the school (renewal). In the course of presenting our findings, we have used the device of "constant" and "changing" characteristics at the school. The "constant" characteristics refer largely to those purposes that operated inside the school and the "changing" characteristics refer largely to those purposes that came to the school from outside. As in all analytic schemes, this device was useful but somewhat artificial. The use of the word "constant" did not imply that nothing dynamic was happening within the school nor did the use of the word "changing" imply that the only dynamic elements were coming from outside. Change was a function of the interaction of both sets of purposes. As is usually the case in institutions like Highland Way School, the only real constant is change.

Staff Development in the Promotion of Change

As has been emphasized several times in this report, staff development, with the active leadership of the principal, has been important to the process of change which took place during the ten years of the Title VII program. The development program was directed at both training staff in new skills and socializing them to new attitudes (see p. 10). It appears to have been somewhat more effective in training than it was in resocializing, the latter function more positively developed through the Title VII program structure itself, where the teacher was teamed with an aide, a person from a different social and cultural background, in a mutually dependent working relationship.

Nevertheless, as a Mexican and sensitive to attitudes denigrating his ethnic group, the principal appears to have exercised a particularly inhibiting effect upon expressions belittling Mexicans and Mexican Americans. This occurred through personal remarks made by the principal to individuals, which were then often incorporated into more formal staff development sessions. Hence, a certain negative, though quite effective, resocialization took place, to which most interviewed teachers attested. The same can be said about socializing the teachers to working with the aides. The principal demanded, with a "do it or leave" attitude, that teachers treat their aides as co-instructors. Although it was the actual working with the aides that insured their acceptance in this role by the teachers, the demand of the principal appears to have suppressed dissent enough to allow the positive effects of teaming to develop to the extent they did.

How, then, have training and resocialization related at Highland Way? Training, rather than resocialization, has tended to be the dominant mode of technical staff development, although in the process of seeking new techniques a certain amount of experimentation and mutual sharing has taken place--the principal admittedly didn't have all the answers. Socialization efforts, it appears, have been aimed at preparing the teachers, principally, to teach the students most prevalent at Highland Way School, the Mexican American, Mexican and other Latino children. However, the more the principal was able to choose the kind of person he wanted teaching at the school the less resocializing appeared to be needed.

According to the principal, some staff have felt that his goal has been to have all Latino teachers at the school, or at least in the bilingual program. The researchers' observations tend to dispute that conclusion. Rather, the principal has seemed to continue to select teachers on the basis of humanistic factors rather than ethnic bias.

We may summarize the findings by saying simply that if staff development is defined as those processes that promote personal and professional growth in teachers, then there was both a formally-defined and informally-defined staff development program at the school. The formal program made its biggest impact in the area of resocialization.

With regard to the relation between the findings of the study and the findings of the literature review, our opinion is that the material contained in the ERIC Clearing House Review (see p. 11) serves as a nearly adequate organizing scheme for summarizing that portion of the data that relate to what we have labeled as the "formal" staff development component. We would only add to that Rust's emphasis (see pp. 11-12) on the importance of the direct involvement of school personnel in the assessment of needs and the determination of goals. This aspect of the program is important to the success of the program at Highland Way. Each ye[illegible] at the beginning of the year, the principal engages st[illegible] in dialogue about the thing that would be most important to emphasize throughout that year. Once the emphasis has been decided jointly, it is pursued diligently. This is one of the "constants" at Highland Way. We turn now to a summary of the findings organized in terms of the ERIC Clearing House Review.

Specific Skills

The recommendation that "persons responsible for programs would do well to choose those that are concrete and aimed at specific skills" is and has been followed quite intuitively. This has resulted in very noticeable and rather uniform effects such as the treatment of bulletin boards and display areas, the use of language and math packets available in the resource center, patterns of grouping within classes, etc. Highland Way School is not a place where you do your own thing. You learn and apply specific skills. You play a team game in which each team member must carry out designated tasks consistent with the demands of the coach.

Individualization

Staff development at Highland Way is not individualized in the sense that the unique needs of each individual form the basis for individual prescriptions and individual treatment programs. It is individualized only in the sense that each staff member is given opportunity to have input to the selection of the annual emphasis. Once the staff has decided on the emphasis, each individual member is expected to subordinate her/his own personal felt needs and join the team effort.

On-Going

As recommended in the ERIC Review, the same staff development emphasis is continued throughout the year. That emphasis forms the basis for the content of in-services. It also serves to focus conversation in the staff lounge, to focus some of the content of staff meetings and to focus the Principal's observations as he moves through the rooms.

At School

Most of the staff development that is directly relevant to functioning successfully at Highland Way is given at Highland Way. Naturally, staff members also participate in District-sponsored staff development activities. Some also attend university classes.

Observation of Other Teachers

Observation of peers is not unknown at Highland Way but it is not a significant part of the staff development program. This does not mean, however, that teachers do not learn from one another. Professional sharing in the teachers' lounge and in staff meetings was commonly observed. Also, the principal's involvement in each classroom allows him to become a disseminator of new ideas and practices.

Involvement of Principal

As has been noted many times in this report, the principal at Highland Way is passionately involved in the school program and provides a clear example of the kind of dedication and work that he expects from all of his staff. He is so often present in each classroom that he is treated by the teachers as practically omni-present. Since he unabashedly critiques teacher performance in all times and places, he becomes a primary staff development influence. He constantly monitors the progress that each teacher is making toward whatever goal has been jointly adopted by the staff. In this way, more than any other, he guarantees that whatever is learned in staff development sessions (formally defined) gets implemented in the classroom.

Involvement of Teachers

We have already noted that teachers are intensively involved in the planning and implementation of the program.

The Process of Change and the Institutionalization of Bilingual Programs

In this report, the focus has been quite intentionally on the Highland Way experience and, because of his character and behavior, on the principal. However, the importance of the Highland Way experience does not lie exclusively or even primarily in what happened at Highland Way. Neither does it lie in what the principal actors at Highland Way thought or felt about what happened. The importance lies rather in what the district did as a result of what happened. After all, the success or failure of such a program lies in the degree to which it becomes institutionalized after Federal monies are withdrawn.

We define institutionalization as that process whereby program functions (instruction, resources, staff development, administration, etc.) become regular functions of the school and the district and are paid for out of the regular budget. In order to provide a clearer picture of what this means, consider the organization of the bilingual program as it was under Title VII at Highland Way (see Exhibit 1).

Under this organization, Federal funds paid for the project director, the bilingual resource teacher, the aides, the community liaison, and the project secretary. It also provided funds to support the activities of the parent advisory groups, selected staff development activities, purchase of special materials, etc. District funds paid for teachers and everything else. Institutionalization of the program would mean then that the district would "legitimize" and pay for all positions and functions formerly paid for out of Federal monies. Barring this, the project infrastructure, or parts thereof, would simply disappear.

Facing the realities of the end of Federal funds to support the project, what would the district decide to do? We have seen already that it decided to discontinue the aide-based program and to base the program on its teachers.

A number of considerations determined this decision. In the first place, the district had to determine its base program such that regular and supplementary funds could be used in comparable ways across the several schools in the district. The aide-based program had been a necessity in the beginning because of the fact that the teachers then in place were unable to provide Spanish language instruction. One consequence of this model was the fact that some students received all of their instruction in basic skills from the aide. Over the long term, this was deemed unacceptable. It was felt that eventually, students should receive basic skills instruction in the primary language from a regularly credentialed teacher.

Thus, by the time the second proposal had been submitted, the district had determined that its base program would be founded on bilingual teachers. This would be true across the district. All supplementary funds would be used on top of a bilingual credentialed-teacher base. This would not only be ideal for learning but would also eliminate complaints from other schools and from the parent community that one school was receiving non-comparable (i.e., preferential) treatment.

Given the determination of a bilingual teacher as the base of the bilingual program, the district went ahead to design its overall bilingual program. The program was deliberately declared to be transitional. Contrary to many such programs, underlying this one was a strong belief that strong primary language skills underlie effective transition. Accordingly, the components of the program included (1) primary language development, (2) second language development, (3) primary language reading, (4) English reading for FES students as well as for LES students who meet the criteria, (5) mathematics, with the primary language used as necessary, and (6) multicultural education.

In order to make the transition philosophy operational, procedures for the identification, placement, and reclassification of non- and limited-English speaking students were officially adopted. Identification rests on multiple criteria including a home language assessment and an oral language (English and Spanish) assessment. Reclassification also rests on multiple criteria including an initial recommendation from any one of six different persons, an assessment of academic progress, an assessment of English oral language proficiency, an English language writing sample, parent notification, a recommendation from an appraisal team, and a trial period lasting a minimum of one semester.

Operational features of the program, in addition to the identification, placement, and reclassification procedures include a budget in 1981-1982 of $238,000 over and above the amount needed to fund the base program. These funds come from money provided under special education improvement legislation and are used to fund the district bilingual program coordinator, bilingual resource teachers, secondary ESL teachers, aides for teachers on waiver, materials, and some staff development.

The bilingual program in the district has been considerably expanded over what it was under Title VII funding, growing from two schools to thirteen schools (not counting those schools in which a Title VII grant for Asian students is being implemented). In 1981-1982, there were 66 bilingual classrooms. These classrooms were staffed by 56 teachers with bilingual credentials or certificates plus ten teachers who are in a special program leading to full certification. The latter teachers are given bilingual aides.

In support of the classroom program, the district provides a variety of supports. First is the district bilingual staff development program. In 1978-1979, 91 inservices were offered by two of the bilingual resource specialists. An aggressive bilingual staff development program has continued through the writing of this report (1981-1982).

The district also provides direct curriculum supports in the form of appropriate curriculum guides and student materials. In the area of curriculum guides, one of the most important pieces is a document entitled Language Arts Instruction for NES/LES Students. This document operationalizes the commitment to provide primary language development opportunities for language minority students as a prerequisite for transition to the English language curriculum.

In the area of student materials, the district provides texts for:

- English language arts
- Spanish language arts
- English reading
- Spanish reading
- English-as-a-second-language
- Spanish-as-a-second-language
- Math materials translated as necessary
- A great variety of supplementary materials (books and films) held and distributed through the educational media center

These materials are matched by a large collection for teachers held in the professional library.

Finally, the district has continued to support the concept of a bilingual district advisory committee. This committee has been meeting monthly up to the time of this writing.

It is clear that the Title VII funds spent at Highland Way have led, as they were supposed to, to the build-up of a district capacity and that this capacity has been used to expand services to all NES/LES students in the district. The fact that the Highland Way program was modified or that its modification was deplored by the principal should not be allowed to obscure the fact that modifications were rooted in the desire to effect institutionalization and to be responsive to developments in the field of language acquisition theory.

In this whole process of change, was anything lost in the rejection of the Highland Way model? We believe the answer is "yes." The loss occurred primarily in the degree of true bilingualism that was being developed both in students whose primary language is Spanish and in students whose primary language is English.

What, in a historical sense, is the significance of that ten-year span at Highland Way during which the Title VII program was operative? First, though the model was not adopted by the district, it served as an example to the district that bilingual education could work, and more than that, could be highly successful in doing it. If a major goal of bilingual education is to develop English proficiency and positive self-image while promoting normal rates of growth in conceptual skills, then Highland Way showed one way to do it. Its unique contribution is that it did so much to promote Spanish language development among all of the participants.

Second, during the Title VII program there were no non-program personnel and, therefore, all were legitimate to the program. That, to the researchers, was one of its chief strengths. Since the termination of Title VII support, most of that legitimacy has been lost. The majority of the staff have no official function within the program. The principal anticipated this situation; in fact, as brought out above, he felt it would destroy bilingual education at the school. Though it did not do so, it appears to the researchers that it constitutes a threat to the health of the program in that the meeting of the two cultures and languages becomes more restricted.

Third, during the ten years of the program, many of the teachers who left the school continued to use the philosophy and methods they had learned. Additionally, many visitors, inspired by what they saw, returned to their own schools to replicate what they had seen.

Fourth, the high level of parent participation, nurtured during the Title VII years, continues at a high level now. This is correlated with the continuing use of both English and Spanish on campus as well as the active solicitation of parent participation by both the principal and the community liaison.

We can see then that, despite the predictions of failure, Highland Way continues to have a quality program. The push for academic excellence did not begin with Title VII and did not end with Title VII. This tradition of excellence is reflected in both the monolingual and bilingual strands. Witness the top rating the bilingual strand received from the state monitor and review team during the 1979-1980 school year.

We conclude this report with a few comments on the issue of basing the primary language and culture components of a bilingual program on aides. In the principal's view, the aide-based Title VII bilingual program was especially suited to Highland Way and to like schools. To him, the proof of what trained and respected paraprofessionals from the community could do was present at Highland Way and had been highly praised by many educators. The bilingual aide was another trained instructor in the classroom, one who not only spoke the Spanish of the children, but by virtue of her ethnicity and location in their community could identify with their needs more readily. These aides were also parents from the community and thus role models of school participation to other parents.

Yet, the school district and the administrative personnel closest to bilingual education opted for a teacher-based program in the second Title VII proposal. The change of emphsis revolved around the basic issue of what makes a teacher in contrast to an instructional aide. No matter how well one could train bilingual aides from the community, a teacher's training was held to have more breadth and depth, notwithstanding certain teachers' inability to manifest those qualities. If it were not so, why go to college? Why undertake the discipline of a teacher training curriculum? Thus, it was logical that the planners would staff the classrooms with the more qualified instructors, now that more were becoming available.

But more, it is in the very structure of the teacher-aide relationship that an aide-based bilingual program cannot guarantee a status to the non-English language equal to that of English. The aide must be subordinate to the teacher in organizational rank, and thus status, because she or he is just that--an aide, an assistant to the one who runs the classroom. And this not only organizationally, but legally as well. Therefore, if the organizationally and legally subordinate person is the prime bearer of one of the two languages, that language will, by association, be seen as subordinate. Thus, it is argued, no matter how competent an individual aide may be, sometimes more than the English-speaking teacher, the non-English language component will never be seen to be equal to the English one. And, according to Peter Drucker, the noted management and organization consultant and scholar, when through sheer force of personal power one attempts to overrule the official relationships in an organization, the tendency is to do violence to both the structure of the organization and to its people.

In the case at hand, to continue an aide-based program when bilingual teachers were available was seen by many, if not most, bilingual teachers to fail to give Spanish equality with English and thus to fail to foster the most qualified program possible.

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